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KAMANDAKIYA NITISARA

OR

THE ELEMENTS OF POLITY

(IN ENGLISH.)

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INTRODUCTION.

THE superiority of the Ancient Hindus in metaphysical and theological disquisitions has been established beyond all doubts. Our literature abounds in treatises, which, for philosophical discussions, sound reasonings and subtle inferences regarding many momentous problems of existence, have not been beaten down by the modern age of culture and enlightenment. The world has all along been considered by the ancient Hindu writers as a flood-gate of miseries of existence, and the *summum bonum* of human existence is, in their view, the unification of the humanity with the divinity. The chief aim of all the ancient writers of India has been to solve the mighty problem, namely, the cessation of miseries of existence and the attainment of the God-head. Admitting their exalted superiority in matters of philosophical and theological speculation, some people of the present generation boldly launch the theory that our literature lacks in works which may serve as a guidance of practical life. To disabuse the popular mind of this perilous misconception, we might safely assert that Hindu writers paid no less attention to practical morals and politics. We find a very beautiful account of the Science of Polity in the Raj-dharma section of the great Epic, the Mahabharata.

The science of Polity its origin

Formerly for the protection of creatures Brahma wrote the science of Polity in ten million chapters. Siva obtained this from Brahma and epitomised it in ten thousand chapters. His work is called *Vaishalakshya* from his name (*Vishalaksha* or large-eyed). Indra made an abridgement of it in five thousand chapters. Vrihaspati converted it into three thousand chapters, and Sukra into one thousand. Thus it was gradually abridged by various sages having in view the shortened life of the people around them.

It was Chanakya, the Machiavel of India who first reformed this Science at the end of the age of Rishis. His work consisting of a hundred verses is a well-known brochure which even the school

boys of India get by rote. The author, of the work which is the subject of our translation, was a disciple of Chanakya who raised the first Mauriya king Chandra Gupta on the throne of Pataliputra (B. C. 319.)

Date.

Tradition fully corroborates this date. From a report submitted by Dr. Frederich to the Batavian Society of arts and Sciences on the Sanskrita literature of Bali, it appears that the most popular work in that Island on Polity is entitled *Kamandakiya Nitisára*, and all the Sanskrita books there extant are acknowledged to be the counterparts of purely Indian originals. The researches of Sir Stamford Raffles and Crawfurd shew that the predominance of Buddhism in the island of Java obliged the Hindu inhabitants of that place to retire in the fourth century of the Christian era, with their household gods and their sacred scriptures to the island of Bali, where they and their descendants have, ever since, most carefully preserved the authenticity of their literature and their religion. It has also been shewn by the same authorities that since the period of their exile, they have not had any religious intercourse with India; it would therefore follow that the Sanskrita works now available in Bali, including the *Kamandakiya Niti*, are of a date anterior to the 4th century. The contents, however, of the Balenese code of morals, are unknown, and it would be premature, from the similarity of names, to infer its identity with the work now presented to the public; yet the fact that the people of Bali themselves acknowledge all their Sanskrita literature to have been obtained from India, would argue the existence of at least a *Kamandakiya Nitisàra* at the time when that literature was imported from the shores of Bharatavarsha.

An internal evidence of some moment is in favour of the antiquity which tradition has ascribed to this work. It is dedicated to Chandragupta, and the author, a Buddhist, apparently with a view not to offend the feelings of his Hindu patron with the name of a Buddhist deity, has thought fit to forego the usual invocation at the commencement of his work—a circumstance which has been made the theme of much erudite disquisition by the author of the Siddhanta Muktavali.

Although written in verse, its style is peculiarly unpoetical in its rude simplicity approaches the older Smritis. The wo not, however, any of the antiquated grammatical forms and ol expressions which are so freely met with in Manu and occas in the other Smritis, and its versification is unexceptionable. I had it to be judged by its metres alone they would have justifi inference that its origin is due to a much later age than t Kalidasa.

It has been observed by some that the use of the word A this work is fatal to its claim to antiquity, that word having shown, in a paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic S (Vol. p.), to be of Arabic origin, and to have been borrow the Brahmanas in the 10th century. Mr. Ravenshaw's specul however, have not yet obtained that confirmation which would our rejecting the testimony of the dedication, and infer the d the work from the use of a single word which may after all b result of an interpolation or a mislection.

Style.

The style is condensed and pithy like that of proverbs. Th sential characteristics are its gravi sententiousness. In the early st society concise rules and flashing proverbs "the condensed c sions of experience" form better guides of life and are therefore frequently resorted to than lengthy ratiocinations in search of g truths. Wise men of old from Solomon downwards all preferre method of communicating their ideas.

Sources.

Apologue or fable was also adopted as a form in which counsel could be successfully imp Probably apologues followed pr and essays succeeded them next. Hitapodesha the most cele work of moral counsels is in the shape of apologues; scholars hold that Hitopodesha is the model which Kama followed. They base their arguments on the theory that apo was the earliest form of literary productions. We however that *Kamandakiya Nitisara* is the earliest work, proverbs in ou preceding the apologues as the form of literary compositions. looking to the Mahabharata which is anterior to both we see m in the very words as in this work. Agnipuran has a section in

Kamandaki has been freely quoted though not by name. Thus we see that these and similar maxims were among the Hindus as the heir-looms of remote antiquity.

Moral tone.

Some critics are of opinion that the moral tone of the state-policy is not worthy of a descendant of the ancient Rishis. Its corner stone is cunning and artifice intended to favor arbitrary power and its main object is to put down party opposition. Chanakya, the preceptor of the author, was always on the alert to over-throw his powerful rival Rakshasa. For this he took recourse to one eternal round of stratagems and artifices from which forgery, perjury and even poisoning were not excluded. His disciple Kamandaka could not shake off the influence of his powerful teacher. But this defect is confined entirely to the sections on deplomacy and does not affect at all his rules regarding tho general conduct of kings and their officers. Herein we find an earnest advocacy of truth, justice and honesty, which stands a favourable comparison with works of much higher pretensions.

The Synopsis of the work.

The maxims of Kamandaki are arranged under nineteen different heads, and embrace almost all the subjects that may be fairly included under the term polity, besides some which have only the voucher of Hindu writers to appear in this work. The first chapter is devoted to the inculcation, in princes, of the necessity of study and of controlling their passions. The second has for its subjects the division of learning, the duties of the different castes and the importance of criminal jurisprudence. In the third occurs an exposition of the duty of princes to their subjects, of the necessity of impartial justice, and the impropriety of tyrannising over their people. The fourth affords a description of the essential constituents of a good government. The duties of masters and servants engross the whole of the fifth chapter, and the mode of removing difficulties or rather of punishing the wicked, forms the subject of the sixth. The seventh is devoted to the duty of guarding the persons of kings and crown princes, and includes a variety of expedients against surprises, poisoning, the infidelity of servants, wives and relatives, and the dishonesty of medical attendants. The mode of consolidating a

kingdom by providing it with the necessary officers of state, and including within it a number of dependencies and subordinate chiefs, forms the subject of the next chapter. Then follow a series of rules regarding negotiations and disputes with foreign powers, conferences, embassies and spies, which take up the whole of the 9th, 10th, 11th and the 12th chapter. The 13th opens with an exhortation in favour of constant activity and attention to business, and the evils which attend idleness and vicious propensities. The latter are indicated by the term *vyásana*, and include a number of vices and frailties—such as over-fondness for hunting and gambling, sleeping in the day, calumny, concupiscence, dancing, singing, playing, idleness, drinking, general depravity, violence, injury, envy, malice, pride, and tyranny. The term is very comprehensive, and when applied to other than men, is made to imply "defects" generally, and the subsequent chapter particularises the various defects to which the seven members of a government are frequently liable. It is followed by a dissertation on military expeditions. The 16th chapter has fortification, entrenchment and encamping of armies for its subjects, and, though short, is highly interesting, for the rules it contains on matters in which the modern Hindus are so entirely ignorant. The different expedients for overcoming enemies such as reconciliation, wealth, show of military power, domestic discord, diplomacy, feigning, and stratagem, are detailed in the following chapter, and those failing, a king is recommended to enter into actual warfare, and on the mode of carrying it on, including surprises, guerilla fights, pitched battles, and military stratagies; the uses of the different members of an army, such as the infantry, cavalry and elephants; the arrays of soldiers into columns, lines, squares &c.; the duties of commanders, and the principle of selecting one's ground; the two subsequent chapters contain the most curious details.

Our object.

We have undertaken to translate into English this great work of Kamandaka for it stands pre-eminently high among works dealing with the science of Polity. It is thorougly representative in its character and the precepts, of the great sage, we are sure, will prove a profitable reading to the general public and more so to many Hindu princes who govern over the destiny of a vast section of the Indian population. Now that it

has pleased the Gracious Providence to link the destinies of India with those of England this work is likely to give some idea to our rulers as to how the ancient Hindu kings ruled their subjects. In India we have glorious traditions of loyalty. In India loyalty is the very back-bone of the Indian races by whom a king is regarded as a god-head. It will not be therefore useless both for the rulers and the ruled to know how the ancient Hindu kings swayed over the vast millions and what was the key-note of the loving fidelity of these latter to their king.

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KAMANDAKIYA NITISARA

SECTION I.

SALUTATION unto the Glorious Ganesha.

1. *May that lord of the earth be ever attended wi[th] victory over his internal and external enemies, throug[h] whose Regal power† this world is stationed in the paths [of] rectitude; who is rich in his wealth of learning‡ and

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* It was customary with Samskrit writers of yore to eulogise, in t[he] first instance, the central character that would figure in their respecti[ve] treatises. In accordance with this time-honored custom the auth[or] here salutes the 'lords of the earth' for whose guidance he is going [to] lay down maxims of practical politics. The first Sloka also contains [an] allusion to the Mauriya king Chandragupta (B. C. 316) who had be[en] installed on the throne of Pátaliputra by the preceptor of the writer [of] this brochure. The reader will see, that immediately after the auth[or] salutes his renowned and well-known teacher, the celebrated Chának[ya] the Machiavel of India.

† *Prabhâva.*—Is here synonymous with *Sakti* (Regal power), wh[ich] has three parts or elements, viz (1) *Prabhusakti* which means 'majesty [or] pre-eminent position of the king himself.' (2) *Mantrasakti* which mea[ns] 'the power of good counsel.' (3) *Utsâhasakti*, which means, 'th[e] power of energy.' *c.f.* '*Râjayam nâma saktitrayâyattam.*' The essenti[al] requisites for a monarchy are the possession of these three *Saktis*.

‡ *Sriman.*—Ordinarly translated would mean 'attended with *Sri* [or] prosperity'. The commentator takes *Sri* to mean 'knowledge of t[he] *Shâstras*, prudence, wisdom &c.'

god-like* (in prosperity); and (lastly) who (equitably) infli punishment† (on those deserving it).

2—6. Salutation unto the highly intelligent Vishnugupta,‡ who sprang from an extensive and illustrious dynasty the descendants of which lived like the Rishis§ accepting alms from nobody; unto him whose renown became worldwide; unto him who was effulgent like the (highly blazing) fire;‖ unto that most artful and cunning one, the foremost of those conversant with *Paramártha*,¶ who mastered the four Vedas as if they were only one. Salutation unto that one whose fire of energy was like the flash of lightning, and through whose magical powers,** that resembled in potency and in fury the thunder-bolt itself, the wide-spread, renowned, powerful and mountain-like dynasty of Nanda†† was

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* *Deva.*—All the qualities indicated by the root are only possible in a celestial, hence the word has ordinarily come to mean a deity. A king is held in as high and sacred an estimation as a deity, and is said to possess all the attributes in common with a god.

† *Dandadhára.*—May have two meanings, both of which may be accepted here; the first word of this compound means 'a sceptre' as well as 'punishment'; and the second word means 'to hold' as well as 'to deal out.' So the compound may have two significations (1) holding the sceptre as a symbol of authority (2) dealing out punishments.

‡ *Vishnugupta.*—Another name of Chánakya. He had many other designations such as *Droumina*, *Koutilya*, *Amsoola* &c.

§ *Rishi.*—A seer.

‖ *Játaveda.*—Is one of the diverse designations of fire; it is so called as it is supposed to know all beings born on the face of the earth. The reference is here to one of the sacred ceremonies of the Hindus, according to which a fire is to be kindled in the lying-in-room of a new born babe.

¶ *Vedavidám.*—*Veda* here means *Paramártha*, that is, the highest or most sublime truth, true spiritual knowledge about *Brahman* or the Supreme Spirit.

** *Avicháravajram.*—*Avichára* signifies 'employment of magical spells for malevolent purposes.'

†† *Suparva.*—The *parva* of a mountain is its peak. *Nandaparvata.*—The dynasty of Nanda was dethroned through the machinations and

eradicated for good.* Salutation unto him who resembled the god Saktidhara† himself (in prowess) and who, single-handed, by means of his *Mantrasakti* and *Utsáhasakti*,‡ brought the entire earth under the thorough control of Chandragupta, the foremost of sovereigns. Salutation unto that wisest of counselors who collated the nectar-like *Niti-Shástras* from the mighty main of the *Arthashástras*.§

7—8. Culling from the Code of that one of pure intelligence who had reached the end of (mastered) the different branches of learning, we shall inculcate, out of our love for the Science of Polity, a series of short and significant lessons to the kings, directing them regarding the acquirement and preservation of territory; whatever, we shall say, will be in perfect harmony with the views of those well-versed in the science of politics.‖

9. The king is the cause of the prosperity and progress of this world, and is held in high estimation even by grown

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intrigues of Chánakya. The dynasty is here compared to a mountain owing to its various branches and offshoots.

* *Mulata.*—The commentator explains it as 'not to rise again; fallen for good.' We have accepted this meaning. For *Papátá Mulata*, some read *papátámulata*;

† *Saktidhara.*—Is another name for Kártikeya, the son of Siva. He is the Mars or the god of war of the Hindu mythology.

‡ *Mantrasakti and Utsáhasakti.*—Vide note † to sloka (1).

§ *Nitishástra* and *Arthashástra.*—In sanskrit literature *Niti* has a diversity of meaning which is quite puzzling; for instance it means, ethics, politics, morality, policy, decorum &c. But in this connection it is easy to find out its true signification which is politics. *Shástra* means science here. In the same manner, *Arthashástra* may have various meanings, of which we accept the following, viz 'the science of practical life.'

‖ *Rájavidyávidám.*—The author alludes to *Vrihaspati*, the preceptor of the celestials, and to *Usanas*, the preceptor of the Asuras; both these are known as writers on civil and religious law, and are accepted as authorities on civil polity.

up people; he affords delight to the eyes of men, even as the moon affords delight unto the (mighty) ocean.*

10. If a ruler of men does not lead his subjects to the paths of rectitude, then are these latter (hopelessly) tossed about in the ocean of existence, even as a (frail) bark, having none to steer her through, is tossed about in a rough sea.

11. A righteous king, protecting his subjects to the best of his resources and having the power of capturing hostile cities, should be held in as high a regard as the Lord *Prajápati*† himself.

12. The sovereign should protect his subjects (by the equitable distribution of rewards and punishments). The subjects should increase the prosperity of the sovereign (by yielding taxes and tributes in the shape of agricultural products). Preservation of good order is preferable to a seeming increase of prosperity, for when all order is lost,‡ then prosperity, though present, is of no use.

13. A sovereign discharging his duties according to the rules of Polity soon secures *Trivarga*§ for himself and for his subjects; acting otherwise he is sure to ruin himself and his subjects.

14. Following the paths of rectitude king Vaijavana‖

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* The rising and swelling of the waters of the ocean (flood-tide) occasioned by the influence of the moon was to the eye of the Sanskrit poets an indication of the ocean's delight.

† An epithet of the ten lords of created beings first created by *Brahmá*. Some times the word means *Brahmá* himself.

‡ '*Tadabhávai.*'—Another reading is accepted '*Tannásai*'; but this makes no difference in meaning.

§ The three objects of worldly existence, for the attainment of which all beings strive; these are *Dharma* or religious merit, *Artha* or wealth and *Káma* or objects of desire.

‖ The allusion is as follows:—King Indrasena sprang from the dynasty of Sagara. For having held sexual intercourse with his wife during her period of menstruation, he was on the point of being devoured by a Rákshasa, who only consented to relent provided the king would

governed this earth for a long period, whilst king Nahusa,* treading evil ways, was condemned to dwell in the nether regions (hell).

15. For this reason, always keeping equity in view, a king should exert himself for securing prosperity (in the shape of territorial aggrandisement &c). Through equitable dealings, an empire increases in territorial wealth; and the delicious fruit of this increase of territory is all-round prosperity.

16. King, minister, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and allies, are known to form the seven constituents of government; good sense and unebbing energy are its primary stay.

17. Depending upon his unmitigating energy and discerning through his prudence the right path to be adopted, a king should always vigorously endeavour to establish a government having those seven constituents.

18. The acquirement of wealth by equitable means, its preservation and augmentation, and its bestowal on deserving recepients—these are said to be the four duties of a sovereign.

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never direct or allow his subjects to be engaged in pious deeds. Indrasena agreed; and his iniquity speedily brought about his destruction. Several of his descendants, following the path of their predecessor, met with ruin. Descended from this doomed line of kings Vaijavana directed the performance of virtuous acts by his subjects, and himself performed them. Thus his virtue saved him, and he continued to rule over his subjects for a long time.

* The allusion is this.—Descended from the lunar race of kings, Nahusa was a very wise and powerful king; and when Indra lay concealed under waters to expiate for the sin of having killed Vritra, a Bráhmana, he was asked to occupy Indra's seat. While there, he thought of winning the love of Indrani and caused the seven celestial sages to convey him in a palanquin to her house. On his way, he asked them to be quick using the words *Sarpa, Sarpa* (move on), when one of the sages cursed him to be a *Sarpa* (serpent). He fell down from the sky, and remained in that wretched state till he was relieved by Yudhisthira.

19. Possessing courage, a perfect knowledge of political economy, and full of energy, a king should devise expedients for attaining prosperity. Humility is the means of acquiring knowledge of political economy; and humility again is bred by a knowledge of the *Shástras*.

20. Humility is synonymous with a thorough control over the senses. Any one possessing it becomes learned in the *Shástras*. To one practising humility the mysterious meanings of the *Shástras* reveal themselves.

21—22. Knowledge of polity, wise judgment, contentment, skilfulness, absence of cowardice, (ready) power of comprehension, energy, eloquence, firmness of purpose, patience for putting up with turmoils and troubles, *Prabhâva*,* purity of intention, friendliness to all beings, bestowal of wealth on worthy recipients, truthfulness, gratefulness, high lineage, good conduct, and restraint of the passions,—these and other such qualities are the sources of all prosperity.

23. In the first instance, a king should himself practise self-restraint, thereafter, he should direct his ministers, and then his dependents, and then his sons and then his subjects, to do the same.

24. A self-controlled king, whose subjects are devoted to him and who is careful in protecting his subjects, earns great prosperity for himself.

25. One should bring under his control, by striking with the goad of knowledge, the rampant elephant identified with the senses, coursing wildly in the vast wilderness of sensual enjoyments.

26. The soul inspires the mind† with activity in order that the latter may earn wealth ; volition is engendered by a union of the soul and the mind.†

* That idea of power and superiority which is so indissolubly connected with the conception of a monarch and which we have before rendered as 'Regal power.'

† Sanskrit philosophers draw a very subtle distinction between the

27. The mind, out of a morbid desire for the objects of sensual enjoyments which are compared to most palatable dishes of meat, goads the senses after their search; this (perverse) inclination of the mind should be assiduously suppressed; and when one's mind is conquered (by himself), he is styled self-controlled.

28. *Vijnána* (means for realising diverse kinds of knowledge), *Hridaya* (the heart), *Chitta* (the receptacle of consciousness), *Manas* (the mind), and *Buddhi* (the intelligence), —all these are said to convey the same meaning. With the assistance of any one of these, the soul, incased inside this body, discriminates between what ought to be done and what ought not to be done.

29. Pious and impious deeds, sensations pleasurable and otherwise, the presence and absence of desire, so also human effort, the perception of sense-objects and the remembrance of the impressions of an antecedent birth,* these are said to be the signs that go to prove the existence of the soul.

30. The impossibility of the concomitance of perceptions

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soul and the mind, which it is difficult to explain to the uninitiated. The idea seems to be that, the soul is the only living principle that retains the power of invigorating the subsidiary faculties, which latter, but for the former's help, would have been as inert as matter itself. In the Nyáya philosophy mind or *Manas* is regarded as a *Dravya* or substance; it is held to be distinct from the *Atman* or soul. It is defined as the internal organ of perception and cognition, the instrument by which the objects of the senses affect the soul or *Atman*.

* *Samskára*.—It means the faculty that retains and reproduces impressions. But the word is more often used to signify the impressions received in a previous life, which the soul is said to bring with it when it is born anew. The absolute truth of this philosophical maxim has gone out of date; and it is against modern philosophical conceptions. As a matter of fact none of us can ever remember what had been his condition in an antecedent life, even if the doctrine of transmigration of souls be accepted as true.

is said to be the sign that proves the existence of the mind.* The formation of the conceptions of various things and sense-objects is said to be the action of the mind.

31. The auditory, the tactile, the visual, the gustatory and the olfactory organs, these five and the anus, the penis, the arms, the legs, and the organ of speech, constitute what is called a conglomeration of sense-organs.

32. The perception of sound, touch, form, taste, and smell, and the acts of discharging (excretions, urine &c), feeling pleasure, taking up, moving and speaking, are said to be the respective functions of these several organs.

33. The soul and the mind are styled to be the 'internal senses' by those who are conversant with the workings of these two. By a conjoint effort of these two, volition is engendered.

34. The soul, the mind, the sense-organs, and the sense-objects, all these are said to be included under the category of 'external sense.'† Volition and muscular movement are the means of pleasurable sensations of the soul.

35. The (connecting) medium between the 'internal and the external sense' seems to be a conscious effort. Therefore

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† *Jnanasyáyugapatbhava*—is a compound formed of *Jnana* or perception and *Ayugapatbhava* or non-concomitance. In Sanskrit philosophy there is a difference of opinion regarding the process of perception. According to some writers simultaneous perceptions are impossible while according to others they are not so. The author sides with the latter class of philosophers. So he defines 'mind' as the link connecting the distinct perceptions received at different times.

‡ An apparent contradiction is involved in Slokas 33rd and 34th where mind and soul have been defined both to be internal and external sense. But the author must be understood as taking two different phases. Mind and Soul are internal organs in respect of internal workings as introspection, thinking &c.,—they are external senses when they deal with outward objects.

suppressing this conscious effort one may try to become the master of his own mind.*

36. In this way, a king conversant with notions of justice and injustice, having subdued his mind already powerless through the suppression of the senses,† should exert himself for realising his own good.

37. How can one, who is not capable enough of subjugating his own one mind, hope to subjugate this (extensive) earth bounded by the oceans themselves?

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* The Sloka needs illucidation. What the writer means is this; when any action is done, the 'internal senses' supply the desire and the motive only; the 'external senses' then perform what more is needed for the completion of the act. Between the desire and the actual carrying out of the action, there is another step. The writer calls that step to be *Yatna* or *Pravritti*. Modern philosophers also accept an analysis of voluntary action somewhat akin to this one. We shall quote professor Sully:—'The initial stage is the rise of some desire. This desire is accompanied by the representation of some movement (motor representation) which is recognised as subserving the realisation of the object. The recognition of the causal relation of the action to the result involves a germ of belief in the attainability of the object of desire, or in the efficacy of the action. Finally we have the carrying out of the action thus represented.' What is known as 'motor representation' seems to be the *yatna* of the present author. The first part of the Sloka being understood the latter does not present any difficulty. When one can suppress this 'motor representation' which again is the result of experience or association, no action becomes possible. In the absence of action, the soul is not brought into contact with the sense-objects and is not plunged headlong into worldliness.

† For *Karanasamarthyat* we have read *Karanasamruddhi* which gives a reasonable meaning.

There is a supplement to this Sloka, which in the text from which we are translating is omitted. The Sloka undoubtedly is an interpolation as it does not occur in the original text. We subjoin its translation.

"As in this earth, one is never satiated with enjoying any of the following viz, rice (food), gold (wealth), cattle and women, so one should ever put down an excessive longing for the enjoyment of any one of these."

38. Like unto an elephant falling in a trap, a king falls in danger whenever his heart is ensnared by the (seemingly) beautiful objects of (sensual) enjoyment, the charm of which vanishes as soon as the enjoyment is over.

39. A king, delighting in the perpetration of vile acts and having his eyes (of knowledge and reason) blinded by the objects of (sensual) enjoyment, brings terrible catastrophe upon his own head.

40. Sound, touch, form, taste and smell, every one of these five sense-objects is capable of bringing about the ruin (of a created being).*

41. Living upon fresh grass and sprouts and capable of bounding over wide chasms, the deer seeks its own destruction from the hunter, being tempted by the latter's charming song.

42. Huge-bodied like the peak of a mountain, capable of up-rooting mighty trees in sport, a male-elephant, stupified with the touch of the female-elephant, submits to be bound by chains.

43. An insect reaps death by suddenly throwing itself, out of doubt, or the blazing flame of a lamp that attracts its attention.

44. Staying away from human sight, and swimming underneath an unfathomable depth of water, a fish tastes the iron-hook furnished with meat (bait) in order to bring about its own destruction.

45. A bee, tempted with the sweet odour of the ichor, and athirst for drinking it, receives for all its troubles, lashes from the elephant's'ears that are moved with great difficulty.†

46. Each of these five poison-like sense-objects is enough to destroy a man separately. How then can that

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* The author in the next five Slokas proceeds to illustrate his remark by examples.

† For *Sukhasamchárám* of the text the commentary reads *Asukhasamchárám*.

person expect to reap good, who is enslaved simultaneously to these five.*

47. A self-controlled person should enjoy in proper season the sense-objects being unattached to them. Happiness is the fruit of prosperity; therefore, in the absence of happiness prosperity is useless.

48. The youth and the prosperity, of kings over-powered by an extreme fondness for gazing at the countenance of their wives, dwindle away, inspite of their shedding profuse useless tears.†

49. From a strict observance of the injunctions and interdictions of the *Shâstras* wealth is acquired; from wealth proceeds desire; and the fruition of desires brings about happiness. He, that does not indulge in the reasonable enjoyment of these three objects, (wealth, desire and happiness), destroys these three as also his own self to boot.

50. Even the very name of a woman fills the frame with a joyous thrill, and bewilders the reason; not to speak of a sight of her with arching eye-brows sparkling with sensuality!

51. What fond person is not intoxicated with lust for women, skilful in amorous tricks in secret, soft and sweet spoken and beautified with coppery eyes.

52. Women can surely kindle desire in the hearts of

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* There is a Sloka in the Mahabharata that may be cited as a parallel to Slokas 40—46. It is this:

Kuranga-mâtanga-patanga-bhringa, Meenas hatâs panchabhireva pancha Ekas pramâdi sha katham na hanyate, Ya shevate panchabhireva pancha.

† The construction of the Sloka would also allow another rendering save what we have given. The meaning as explained by a commentator seems to be as follows:—'A king, who is always fondly attached to his wife, neglects his royal duties to enjoy her company. Then his enemies opportunely attack his kingdom, and for his lethargy he is defeated and dethroned. He retires to the forest, and there with his wife he passes his youth in shedding useless tears.'

sages, even as evening twilight can enhance the beauty of the charming moon shedding silvery beams.

53. Even illustrious persons are pierced by (the charms of) women that enrapture and intoxicate the mind, even as rocks are pierced by drops of water.

54. (Excessive indulgence in) hunting, gambling at dice, and drinking,—these are condemnable when found in a ruler of the earth. Behold the catastrophe that befell the king Pandu, the king of the Nishadhas and the descendants of Vrishni, through indulgence in each of these respectively.*

55. Lust, anger, avarice, fiendish delight in doing injury, morbid desire for honor, and arrogance, these six passions should be victimized.

56—57. Subjecting themselves to these six inimical passions, the following kings were ruined, namely, king Dandaka

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* *Pandu.*—To the readers of the Mahábharata the allusion contained in this line is evident. Once during a hunting excursion king Pandu was very much disappointed for not having lighted on any game for a long time. At last to his great joy he found within an arrow-shot a pair of consorting deer and he instantly pierced them with his shaft. To his horror he found that it was a *Rishi* who had been copulating with his spouse in the form of a deer. Provoked by the king's untimely interruption, the *Rishi* cursed the monarch saying that he should never more know sexual pleasure on pain of death. After a period the king died for having passionately embraced his junior wife, in accordance with the curse of the Rishi.

Naishadha.—The history of Nala is too well-known. He was possessed by *Kali* who induced him to play at dice with his brother Puskara. In the game Nala lost all he had, his kingdom and wealth. He was then driven to forest with his wife, where he forsook her. After a prolonged separation, during which each of them had to undergo various troubles and calamities, they were re-united and Nala was set free from the evil influence of *Kali*. He regained his kingdom and ruled for a long time.

Vrishnis.—The descendants of Vrishni indulging over-much in intoxicating drink lost all their senses, and for a trifle quarreling with each other fell to slaying each other and thus ruined their own line of kings. This history is also related in the latter part of the Mahabharata.

met with destruction through lust, Janamejaya through anger, the royal sage Aila through avarice, the Asura Vâtâpi through fiendish delight in doing injury, the Râkshasa Poulasta through desire for honor, and king Dambhodbhava through arrogance.*

58. Renouncing these six inimical passions, Jâmadagnya† became the master of his senses, and Amvarisa‡ of eminent parts enjoyed the sovereignty of the world for a long period.§

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* *Dandaka.*—One day when out hunting, this king affected with lust forcibly ravished the daughter of the sage Vrigu, through whose anger he was killed with his friends by a shower of dust.

Janamejaya.—When engaged in the celebration of the Horse-sacrifice, he found marks of recent copulation on his wife; this exasperated him, and thinking that the sacrificial priests had committed adultery with her, he assaulted them. He met his death through the imprecation of these latter.

Aila.—This monarch used to persecute and oppress his subjects for money, who unable to brook his tyranny at last pelted him to death.

Vâtâpi.—This demon together with another named Ilvala used to invite innocent sages to dine with them. One of them would then assume the form of an animal and would be sacrificed by the other; his meat would then be eaten by the sages. When inside the stomach, the eaten up demon would be revived by the *Sanjivani Mantra* and would kill the sages by tearing open their abdomen. They thus delighted in killing innocent people. At last the great sage Agasthya ate this *Vâtâpi* up and digested him.

Poulasta.—Ravana the ten-headed demon of the Ramayana whose history we need not recount here.

Dambhodbhava—This great demon who defeated many of the celestials in battle was very much puffed up with arrogance. Finding none equal to him in single combat, he one day challenged the sage Nara to show him a combatant that would be a match for him; the sage then himself killed him with a blade of grass.

† A son of Jamadagni a pious sage deeply engaged in study and said to have obtained entire possession of the *Vedas.* His mother was *Renukâ.*

‡ A king of the solar race celebrated as a worshipper of Vishnu.

§ There is a supplement to this Sloka; it is this:—' In order to increase his religious merit and worldly prosperity—which are eagerly

59. Association with a preceptor bestows knowledge of the *Shástras*; the knowledge of the *Shástras* increases humility. A king, modest through the effects of culture, never sinks under troubles.

60. A king, serving the elderly people, is held in high respect by the pious; though induced by persons of evil character, he does not commit vile deeds.

61. A king, everyday receiving lessons in the different arts from his preceptor, increases in prosperity, like the moon increasing in her digits during the light half of every month.

62. The prosperity of a monarch, who keeps his passions under his thorough control and who follows the path chalked out in the science of Polity, blazes forth every day; his fame also reaches the heavens.

63. Thus a monarch, well-versed in Polity, practising self-control, very soon attains to that shining pitch of prosperity which had been attained by other divine monarchs and which is as high as the highest peak of *Mahâratnagiri* *

64. Naturally the ways of exalted sovereignty are different from those of the world. Therefore through sheer force, a preceptor should coach it in self-control. And self-control goes before the successful observance of the maxims of Polity.

65. A self-controlled king receives the highest of homages. Self-control is the ornament of kings. A self-controlled king appears as beautiful as a gentle elephant shedding ichor and moving its trunk slowly.

66. A preceptor is worshipped for the acquisition of learning. Learning, which has been mastered, becomes instrumental in enhancing the prudence of the illustrious. The

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sought after by the pious—a person controlling his senses should devote himself to the services of his preceptor.'

* Sumeru or a fabulous mountain round which all the planets are said to revolve; it is also said to consist of gems and gold. Hence its present epithet. *Mahán* great, *Ratná* gem, and *Giri* mountain.

habit of doing acts according to the dictates of prudence is sure to lead to prosperity.

67. A pure-souled person, ever ready to serve others, attains to prosperity by serving his learned and skilful preceptor. Practising self-control, he becomes worthy of the royal throne and capable of securing peace.

68. A powerful monarch, without practising self-control, is subjugated by his enemies without the least difficulty; while a weak monarch, practising self-control and observing the injunctions of the *Shástras*, never meets with defeat.

Thus ends the first section, the means of self-control and association with the old, in the Nitisára of Kámandaka.

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SECTION II.

1. A KING, after having controlled his senses, should direct his attention to (the cultivation of) the following four branches of learning, namely *Anvikshikee*, *Trayee*, *Vártá* and *Dandaniti*, in co-operation with men versed in them and acting according to their precepts.*

2. *Anvikshikee*, *Trayee*, *Várta* and *Dandaniti*,—these and these only are the four eternal divisions of knowledge, that pave the way of corporeal beings to happiness.

3. The descendants of Manu† (men) hold that there are

* As the italicised words have been explained by the author himself in the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th Sloka of this section, we need not anticipate him.

† *Manu.*—The name of a celebrated personage regarded as the representative man and the father of the human race, and classed with divine beings. The word is particularly applied to the fourteen successive

only three divisions of learning (namely), *Trayee, Vártá*, and *Dandaniti*; in their opinion, what is known as *Anvikshikee*, is to be regarded as a mere sub-division of *Trayee*.

4. The disciples of the celestial priest (*Vrihaspati*)* postulate the existence of two divisions only, namely, *Vártá*, and *Dandaniti*, as these only can help people in the acquisition of *Artha*.†

5. According to the school of *Usanas*‡ there is only one division of learning, namely, *Dandaniti*; and it has been said, that the origin of all other kinds of learning lies in this one.

6. But the theory of our own preceptor is, that there are four kinds of learning, on which this world is settled, for the realisation of different objects.§

7. *Anvikshikee* deals with the knowledge of the self, *Trayee* with piety and impiety, *Vártá* with gain and loss of wealth, and *Dandaniti* with justice and injustice.

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progenitors or sovereigns of the earth mentioned in *Manusmriti*. I. 63. The first of these known as *Sváyambhuvamanu* is supposed to be a sort of secondary creator who produced the ten *Prajápatis* (vide note to Sloka 11th, Sec. I.) and to whom the code of laws called *Manusmriti* is ascribed. The seventh *Manu* called *Vaivasvata* being supposed to be born from the sun (*Vivasvan*) is regarded as the progenitor of the present race of human beings; he is also regarded as the founder of the solar dynasty of kings who ruled at Ayodhyá (modern Oudh). The names of the fourteen *Manus* are (1) *Sváyambhuva* (2) *Svarochis* (3) *Auttami* (4) *Támasa* (5) *Raivata* (6) *Chákshusa* (7) *Vaivasvata* (8) *Sávarni* (9) *Dakshsávarni* (10) *Brahmasávarni* (11) *Dharmasávarni* (12) *Rudrasávarni* (13) *Rouchya-deva-sávarni* (14) *Indrasávarni*.

* Vide note to Sloka 8th Sec. I.

† One of the three objects of existence (*Trivarga*) meaning, wealth or property. Vide note to Sloka 13th Sec. I.

‡ The preceptor of the Asuras or demons. Vide note to Sloka 8th Sec. I.

§ That is, these kinds of knowledge supply us with the means for realising the different objects.

8. *Anvikshikee*, *Trayee* and *Vārtā* are considered to be the most excellent* of all knowledge. But their presence is of no avail where *Dandaniti* is neglected.†

9. When a great leader of men attains proficiency in *Dandaniti*, he becomes the master of the other remaining branches of knowledge.

10. The *Varnas*‡ and the *Asramas*,§ find their primary support in these kinds of knowledge. For this reason, a king, superintending and securing the means for the cultivation of these kinds of knowledge, becomes a sharer‖ in the religious merit earned by the different castes in their different modes of existence.

11. *Anvikshikee*¶ is the science of spiritual knowledge, for

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* For, says the commentator, they serve as means for the acquirement of wealth and religious merit.

† The text lit: translated would be 'where a mistake is committed with regard to *Dandaniti*.' What the author means, seems to be this :— 'The transgression of the rules of Political science by a king is so disastrous that it cannot be remedied even by all his learning and ingenuity.'

‡ *Varna*—means a tribe or a caste, specially applied to the four castes, namely :—*Brāhmana* (the spiritual class), *Kshatriya* (governing class), *Vaisya*, (trading and cultivating class), and *Sudra* (serving class). These classes are said to have been born respectively from the mouth (signifying intelligence), the arms (signifying strength), the abdomen (signifying hunger), and the legs (signifying servitude) of the *Purusha* or Supreme Spirit.

§ *Asrama*—or the mode of living in different periods of existence of these castes or classes ; these are four, namely :—(1) *Brahmacharyya*, or religious studentship, the life of celibacy passed by a *Brāhmana* boy in studying the Vedas. This is the first stage of life. (2) *Gārhasthya* or the order of life of a *Grihasthya* or house-holder. This is the second stage. (3) *Vānaprastha* or the religious life of an anchorite. This is the third stage. (4) *Sannyāsa* or the complete renunciation of the world and its possessions and attachments. The first three classes can enter upon these four stages ; but the *Sudras* are disallowed to do so.

‖ His share has been specified to be one-sixth only.

¶ Modern *Metaphysics*.

it investigates the nature of weal and woe of mankind; through its assistance the real nature of things being seen persons renounce both joy and grief.*

12. The three *Vedas*† called *Rik*, *Yajus* and *Sáma* are meant by *Trayee*. A person, living in perfect obedience to the injunctions and interdictions of *Trayee*, prospers in this as well as in the next world.

13. Sometimes, the *Angas*,‡ the four *Vedas*, the *Mimánsás*,§ the diverse sections of *Nyâya*,|| the

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* Joy for their gain and grief for their loss.

† *Vedas*—the scriptures of the Hindus; originally there were only three *Vedas*, the *Rik*, the *Yajus* and the *Sáma*, which are collectively called *Trayee* or the sacred triad. To these three the *Artharvan* was subsequently added. The orthodox Hindu theory, regarding the composition of the *Vedas*, is that they are 'not human compositions.' They are supposed to have been directly revealed by the Supreme Being.

‡ These are certain classes of works regarded as auxiliary to the *Vedas*, designed to aid in their correct pronunciation and interpretation and the right employment of the *Mantras* in ceremonials. These are six in number *(a) Siksha* or the Science of proper articulation and pronunciation, *(b) Chandas* or the Science of Prosody, *(c) Vyákarana* or Grammar, *(d) Nirukta*, or Etymological explanation of difficult words occurring in the *Vedas*, *(e) Jyotis* or Astronomy and *(f) Kalpa*, or ritual.

§ *Mimánsá*—is the name of one of the six chief systems of Indian philosophy. It was originally divided into two systems, the *Purva-Mimánsá* founded by Jaimini and the *Uttara-Mimánsá* founded by Vádaráyana. The two systems have very little in common between them; the first concerning itself chiefly with the correct interpretation of the rituals of the *Vedas* and the settlement of dubious points in regard to *Vedic* texts; the latter chiefly dealing with the nature of the Supreme Entity. The *Purva-Mimánsá* is therefore rightly styled *Mimánsá* or 'investigation and settlement.' Another name for the *Uttara-Mimánsá* is *Vedánta*, which being hardly a sequel to Jaimini's compilation is now ranked separately.

|| *Nyâya.*—A system of Hindu philosophy founded by Goutama. It is sometimes synonymous with logical philosophy. The several maxims of the *Nyâya* philosophy are referred to here.

*Dharmashâstras** and the *Purânas*† are all included under *Trayee*.

14. The occupation of those who live by rearing cattle, and by cultivation and trade is called *Vártá*. Well-up in *Vártá* a man has nothing to be afraid of in a revolution.‡

15. *Danda* is known to signify subjection. A king is also figuratively called *Danda*, for from him all punishments proceed; the system, that deals with the just infliction of punishments, is called *Dandaniti*. It is called a *Niti* as it guides kings in the right administration of justice.§

16. By the right administration of justice, a king should protect himself, and encourage the (cultivation of the) other branches of knowledge. This branch of knowledge (*Dandaniti*) directly benefits mankind, and the king is its preserver.

17. When a clever and generous-minded monarch realises *Chaturvarga*‖ by means of these branches of learning, then only is his proficiency in these to be recognised; the root *vid* is said to mean 'to know.'

18. ¶The celebration of sacrifices, the study of the *Vedas*** and the act of giving wealth to others according to the rules of the *Shástras*——these are considered to be

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* *Dharmashâstras.*—The codes of morals and laws compiled by *Manu* (vide *Supra* note to Sloka 3rd), and *Yâjnavalkya* and other *Rishis* of yore.

† *Puránas*—these are supposed to have been composed by *Vyása*, and contain the whole body of Hindu mythology. They are eighteen in number.

‡ The reading in the text is vicious; so the commentary supplies *Avritti* for *Vritti*.

§ *Niti*—from *Ni* to guide or direct and *kti* suffix.

‖ *Chaturvarga*—Is *Trivarga* plus *Moksha* or salvation; for *Trivarga* vide note to Sloka 13th Sec. I.

¶ Having finished his dissertation on the divisions of learning, the author now proceeds to determine the duties of the various sects in the different stages of their life.

** Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 12th.

the common customary observances of the three sects, the *Brâhmanas*, the *Kshatriyas* and the *Vaisyas*.*

19. The holy acts of teaching, of conducting sacrifices on others' behalf, and of accepting alms from the pious, these have been enumerated by the sages to be the means of livelihood for those belonging to the superior sect (*Brâhmana*).

20. A king† should live by his weapons and by protecting his subjects.‡ The means of subsistence of a *Vaisya* are cattle-rearing, cultivation and trade.

21. The duty of a *Sudra* is to serve the twice-born sects§ one after the other; his unblamable means of living are the fine arts and the occupation of a ministrel.

22—23. The duties of a *Brahmachárin*‖ are to live in the family of his preceptor, to worship the sacred fires,¶ to study the *Vedas* and their auxiliaries,** to observe vows, to perform ablutions during the three periods of the day (in the morning, at noon, and in the evening),†† to beg and to live for life with his spiritual guide. In the absence of a preceptor, he should live with his (preceptor's) son or with one of his

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* Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 16th.

† Is here representative of the whole 'ruling class' or *Kshatriyas*.

‡ The subjects living under the fostering care of a protecting sovereign increase in prosperity and they willingly pay taxes by which the latter maintains himself.

§ The *Brâhmanas*, the *Kshatriyas* and the *Vaisyas* are so called because they are supposed to be born anew at the time of their investiture with the sacred thread.

‖ One living in the *Brahmacharyya Asrama* (for which vide *Supra* note to Sloka 10th.

¶ These fires are three in number namely :— (1) *Gárhapatya* or domestic fire. (2) *Ahavaniya* or sacrificial fire, derived from the domestic fire ; it is sometimes called the Eastern fire. (3) *Dakshina* or the Southern fire so called because it is placed southwards.

**The *Angas* are referred to, for which vide *Supra* note to Sloka 13th.

†† Technically called *Sandhyá*. These are the three essential and daily ceremonies performed by the Brahmanas, at what are known as the *Sandhis* or joinings of the day.

fellow *Brahmachârin*; or he may, if he likes, adopt another mode of existence.

24. During the whole period of his pupilage, he should wear a *Mekhalâ** along with his sacred thread, bear matted hair or a shaved-head, carry a *Danda*† and live with his preceptor. Afterwards, at his own will, he may choose any other mode of life.

25. The duties of a house-holder are to celebrate the *Agnihotra*‡ sacrifice, to live by the profession prescribed (for his sect) and to avoid sexual intercourse during the *Parvas*.§

26. The duties, of those who have married and settled down, are to worship the gods, the ancestral manes and the guests, to show mercy to the poor and the wretched, and to live according to the precepts of the *Srutis*‖ and the *Smritis*.¶

27—28. The duties of those who have resorted to the forest$ are, to keep matted hair,** to perform *Agnihotra*††

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* The triple girdle worn by the first three classes; the girdle of the *Brâhmana* should be of the fibres of *Munja* or of *Kusa* grass, that of the *Kshatriya* of a *Murva* or bow-string, and of the *Vaisya* of a thread of the *Sana*.

† The staff given to a twice-born one at the time of the investiture with the sacred thread. It is made ordinarily of the branches of the *Vilva* tree (Ægle mermelos) and a species of bamboo.

‡ It is the sacrifice, the principle rite of which is the consecration and maintenance of the Sacred fires by the offering of oblations.

§ *Parva*.—The days of the four changes of the moon *i.e.* the eighth and fourteenth day of each month, and the days of the full-moon and the new moon.

‖ Are the same as *Vedas*. From *sru* to hear and *kti*, *i.e.* which are revealed (vide *Supra* note to Sloka 12th).

¶ *Smriti*.—From *smri* to remember and *kti*, *i.e.* which are remembered. Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 3rd.

$ Technically, who have entered upon the *Vânaprastha Asrama* (vide *Supra* note to Sloka 13th).

** The text reads *Jadatvam* for which the commentary supplies *Jatitvam*. What can the former mean?

†† Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 25th.

sacrifices, to sleep on the bare earth, to wear black deer skin, to live in solitary places, to sustain themselves on water, esculent roots, *Nivára** crop, and fruits, to refuse to accept alms, to bathe thrice in the day,† to observe vows, and to adore the gods and the guests.

29—31. The duties of the wandering mendicants‡ are, to renounce all actions, to live upon what is obtained by begging, to dwell under the shelter of a tree, to refuse smallest gifts,§ to do no harm to other created beings and to maintain an equality of attitude towards them, to be indifferent‖ alike to friends and enemies, to be unmoved by joy or grief, to be purified in mind and in body,¶ to curb the speech,$ to observe vows, to retract the senses from their objects, to keep the mind always collected, to be absorbed in contemplation and to purify their intentions.

32. Harmlessness, the speaking of sweet and salutary words, truthfulness, purification of the mind and the body, and mercy and forbearance, these are said to be the common duties of all the sects in all their different modes of life.

33. These are the duties of all the sects in all their modes of existence, (the observance of) which can secure paradise and salvation for them. The neglect of these

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* *Nivára* is rice growing wild or without cultivation.

† Supply 'after which they should perform their *Sandhyás*, or morning, noon and evening prayers. Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 22nd.

‡ Or who have entered upon the *Sannyása Asrama* (vide *Supra* note to Sloka 10th).

§ 'Even,' goes on the commentator, 'pieces of rags for binding their religious Manuscripts *(Punthi)*.'

‖ The word in the text gives no signification ; and so the commentary reads '*priyápriyáparisanga*' in its place.

¶ 'The body' says the commentator, 'is purified by rubbing and washing with earth and water, and the mind by cherishing kindness for all creatures.'

$ For *Vákmano-brahmacháritá* of the text the commentary reads *Vágyamo Vratacháritá*. The latter reading surely yields a better meaning.

duties results in the spread of mixed castes and thus brings about the ruin of this world.

34. The king is the lawful promoter of all these righteous practices;* therefore in the absence of a king all righteousness is lost and at the loss of righteousness, this world also meets with destruction.

35. A king, protecting the various *Varnas* and *Asramas*,† and living according to their usages and knowing the duties prescribed for each of them, becomes worthy of a place in the regions of Sakra.‡

36. §As a self-controlled‖ king holds the key to the worldly as well as spiritual advancement of his own self as also of his subjects, therefore he should deal out punishments as impartially as does *Dandi*¶ himself.

37. Inflicting extraordinarily heavy punishments a king frightens his subjects, and inflicting extraordinarily light ones he is not feared by them. Therefore that king is praise-worthy who deals out punishments proportionate to the offences.

38. Punishments, dealt out proportionately to the offences, speedily increase the *Trivarga* of a king, while dispro-

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* Another interpretation is possible, namely, 'A king is to encourage these righteous practices, not transgressing the limits of law.'

† Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 10th.

‡ *Sarvalokawng* should be read as *Sakralokavat*, which is the reading given in the commentary. Sakra or Indra is the Jupiter Pluvius of the Indian Aryans. Of all the paradises, his paradise is the most magnificent and is fraught with all sorts of pleasures, he being notorious for his incontinence and lasciviency.

§ The author now proceeds to impress upon the minds of monarchs, the necessity of the right administration of justice.

‖ For *Atmana* of the text read *Atmavan* which gives a good sense. Here also we follow the commentary.

¶ *Dandi*—another appellation for the god of death, who is so called for his holding the sceptre of sway (*Danda*). One of the duties of his office is to deal out rewards and punishments to the souls of the departed according to their merits and de-merits accruing from worldly ac-

portionately inflicted, they excite anger even in those who have retired to the forest.

39. Punishments countenanced by society and the *Shâstras* ought only to be inflicted on the offender. Persecution can never bring about prosperity, as it breeds sin through which a monarch meets with his fall.

40. In this world, where beings are related to one another as food and consumer, when proper chastisements are withheld, the exertions, of a king to keep his subjects under control, become as futile as those of an angler trying to catch fish without the help of a rod.*

41. A king, by the right infliction of punishments, upholds this stayless world, that is being forcibly drowned into the lake of sin by lust and cupidity and other such passions.

42. This world is by nature enslaved to the pleasures of the senses and is ardently longing to enjoy wealth and women. Agitated by the fear of punishments, it only keeps to the eternal ways of rectitude followed by the pious.

43. Upright conduct is scarce in this slavish world of ours; but as it is, men only attend to their prescribed duties through fear of punishments; even as a respectable woman serves her lean or poor or deformed or diseased husband through fear of the sanctions specified in the codes of morality.

44. Thus, like rivers, that flow through right courses, falling into the sea, all prosperity devolves—and never dwindles away—upon a king who knowing the good and evil of

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* Another interpretation is possible, the gist of which is as follows:—'In this world where beings stand in the relation of food and consumer, when just chastisements are withheld, the destructive Mátsya is seen to hold good. The difficulty in annotating the sloka lies in the phrase *Mâtsya Nyáya*, the exact signification of which no lexicographer has vouchsafed; no doubt it is a maxim of the *Nyáya* philosophy. The reference perhaps is to the fact of fishes devouring one another.

the infliction of punishments and following the path chalked out in the *Vedas*,* frames rules of conduct for his subects.

Thus ends the second Section, the division of learning, the duties of the Varnas and Asramas, and the necessity of punishments, in the Nitisâra of Kâmandaka.

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SECTION III.

1. A Ruler of earth, impartially inflicting punishments on his subjects like *Dandi*† himself, should treat them mercifully even as *Prajâpati*‡ does.

2. Sweet and truthful speech, kindness, charity, protection of the oppressed seeking refuge, and association with the virtuous,—these are the praiseworthy practices of a pious person.

3. A man should extricate a distressed person out of his difficulties, being actuated by tenderest compassion and moved by the heavy weight of the latter's grief that had touched his heart.

4. There is no one more pious, in respect to the performance of meritorious acts, than those who save the distressed sunk in the mire of grief.

5. Nursing tenderest compassion in his heart, and without deviating from the path of duty, a king should wipe away the tears of the oppressed and the helpless.

* For *Prâptamârga* of the text, the commentary gives *Shâstra-mârga*, which latter we have adopted.

† Vide note to Sloka 30th Sec. II.

‡ *Prajâpati.*—Another name of Brahmâ the creator, who naturally is very kind to beings of his creation.

6. That kindness (harmlessness) is the highest of all virtues, is the unanimous opinion* of all animate beings. Therefore with feelings of kindness, a king should protect his poor subjects.

7. In order to secure his own happiness, a king should not persecute a poor and helpless person; a poor man, persecuted by the king, kills the latter by means of his grief.†

8. Born of a high family, what man tempted by an iota of happiness, ever oppresses beings of puny might without even judging what their faults are?

9. What prudent person ever perpetrates unrighteous deeds for the benefit of his body that is liable to suffer from mental and physical ills and that is sure to be destroyed this day or to-morrow?

10. This clayey tenement that is rendered agreeable with difficulty through artificial means,‡ is evanescent like a shadow and vanishes§ even as a bubble of water.||

11. Are ever high-souled persons enslaved by the

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* For *Yata* in the text, the commentary suggests *Mata* which we accept.

† What the writer means is this:—'When persecuted by a powerful king, a poor man, finding all earthly assistance unavailing, daily sends up fervent prayers to the Almighty, invoking His curse on the head of the oppressor. Heaven responds to his prayers and the king duly meets his end.'

‡ Such as, perfumes, unguents, garments, ornaments, &c.

§ For *Pasyait* read *Nasyait*, which would give a good signification.

|| The homily of the author on the shortness of life reminds us of a passage in Adam's 'Secret of Success' which we can not withstand the temptation of quoting here.

'Of all the trite themes touched by moralists and poets, the tritest is the shortness of life. Life, we are told, is a bubble, a shifting dream, a thing of nought, evanescent as a morning mist, uncertain as a young maid's promise, brittle as a reed; and yet men proceed to deal with it, as if it were as inexhaustible as the widow's curse of oil, as if it were as sure and stable as the foundations of the everlasting hills.'

pleasures of the senses, which are as shifting as patches of clouds rolled to and fro by a violent storm?

12. The life of corporeal creatures is as unsteady as the reflection of the moon in water;* knowing it to be so, a man should always do what is good and just.

13. Looking upon this world as a mirage and knowing it to be very transient, a person should act, in co-operation with the pious,† to secure happiness and religious merit.

14. A noble person attended upon by the virtuous is a charming sight like a magnificient and recently white-washed mansion flooded by the silvery beams of the moon.

15. Neither the moon of cooling beams, nor the full-blown lotus, can so gladden our hearts as do the deeds of the virtuous.

16. The company of the wicked should be shunned like a dreary, naked, and arid desert, burning with the scorching rays of the summer sun.‡

17. A wicked man, having secured the confidence of the pious and the good-natured, ruins them without any reason whatever, like fire burning down a withered tree.

18. Rather live with serpents having mouths ashy with the fume of the fire-like venom emitted with every breath, than associate with the wicked.

19. The wicked, like the cat, cut off the very hand with which unsuspecting and guileless persons offer palatable food to them.

20. A wicked person is like a serpent; and like it he bears two tongues in his head, with which he pours out the

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* Supply 'which is disturbed by the slightest movement of the water.'

† For *Swajana* read *Sujana* and for *sangata* read *sangatam*. This latter change of reading also changes the meaning, which in this case will be, 'associate with the pious.'

‡ The author now proceeds to caution kings against keeping company with the wicked.

virulent poison of his speech, the baneful effects of which cannot be counteracted by the best remedial measures.

21. A person, seeking his own good, should fold his palms to the wicked, with humility even greater than that with which he does so before his worshipful kinsmen.

22. With a view to completely steal the hearts of men, a wicked person, simulating friendship for every one, speaks charming words agreeable to men and manners.*

23. A man should always please the world with respectful words; for, a man, speaking cruel words, hurts people's feelings, even though he may give them money.

24. Even though he might be sorely oppressed, yet an intelligent person should never utter such words which would afflict men piercing them to their hearts.

25. Like sharp weapons, stinging and torturing language, uttered by ill-mannered persons, cuts people to the very quick.

26. Sweet words should always be spoken equally to friends and foes; for, by whom is not a sweet-spoken man loved like the peacock uttering the sweet *kekâ* †?

27. Peacocks are ornamented by their sweet and charming *kekâ*; men of culture are ornamented by their mellifluous speech.

28. The utterances of intoxicated swans and cuckoos and peacocks are not so charming as are those of a man of culture.

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* In rendering this Sloka we have followed the commentary. But this meaning does not suit the text, whereas the subjoined translation will be appropriate. 'With a view to soften the heart of the wicked a person should show the greatest friendship for them and speak to them words that impart delight to all.'

† It is the cry of the peacock which to the Sanskrit Poets was very musical. It is said to resemble the *Sadja* or the fourth (according to some authorities the first) of the seven primary notes of the Hindu gamut. It is also curious to note, that the 'tuneful cry' the 'animated hail' of the peacock which is so much appreciated in India, is said to be the voice of the Demon in Italy.

29. A person strictly redeeming all his promises and appreciating the good qualities* of others and cherishing respect and kindly feelings† for them, should spend his wealth in the performance of pious deeds; and he should always speak sweet and pleasing words.

30. Those, who speak sweet words and offer hospitality to all, are surely gods under human form, ever prosperous and stainless in character.

31. Unsullied in mind and in body and with a soul purified by a belief in the contents of the *Shástras*, a person should always worship the gods and should regard his elders as gods, and his relatives as his own self.

32. For his own welfare, a man should please his venerable elders by bowing down unto them; and he should please the virtuous by his modest behaviour; and he should propitiate the deities by acts of piety.

33. A person should please his friends by his (affable) manners, his kinsmen by his friendliness, and his wife and servants by his love and liberality respectively; and he should please persons other than these by his kind treatment to them.

34—36. To find no fault with the actions of others, to observe their own duties, to show compassion for the distressed, to address sweet words to all, to serve faithful friends at the cost of their own lives, to welcome their enemies coming to their house, to practise charities proportionate to their resources, to bear up against all sufferings, to reconciliate estranged friends, to offer good treatment to their kinsmen and to comply with their requests—these are the characteristic features of the high-minded.

37. This is the path of life prescribed for the householders that undeviatingly follow the eternal ways of the

* The commentator adds 'of those worthy of receiving gifts.'

† The commentator explains 'believing that charity is the best of all religious performances.'

illustrious. Treading this path, they attain prosperity in this and in the next world.

38. Even the foes of a king become his friends, if he strictly observes the above mode of life. That king can subjugate the world by his modest qualities, who is free from all feelings of animosity.

39. How vast is the difference between the kings and their myriad subjects*. How rare is a king who condescends to please his subjects with sweet words. The subjects of the king who captivates them at first with strings of sweet words, and then cherishes them, never deviate one step from the course of rectitude.

Thus ends the third Section, the determination of duties, in the Nitisára of Kâmandaka.

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SECTION IV.

1-2 KING, minister, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and allies are known to form the seven constituents of a government. They contribute to one another's weal, and the loss of even a single one of them renders the whole imperfect; he who wishes to keep a government perfect should study well† their nature.

3. The first desideratum for a king is to attain royal qualities, and having attained them, he should look for them in others.

4. A flourishing sovereignty cannot well be obtained by the wcr hless; he only, who has qualified himself, is fit to wield the sceptre.

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* *Samgraha* may also mean 'welfare,' 'advancement.'

† For *Shuparikshanam* the commentary gives *Asuparikshanam*.

5. Royal prosperity so difficult to attain and more so to retain, and which entirely depends on the good will of the multitude, rests steadily only on moral purity like water in a (fixed) vessel.

6—8. Nobility of birth, equanimity, youthfulness,* good character, benevolence, activity, consistency,† veracity, respectful behaviour towards those older in age and in knowledge, gratefulness, good-fatedness,‡ keen reasoning power, relationship with the great,§ ability to conquer his enemies, unshaken reverence, far-sightedness, energy, purity, ambitious aims, modesty and piety—these are the qualities, the presence of which in a king renders him acceptable as a refuge to the people.

9. A king, possessed of these qualities, is always resorted to by his subjects seeking protection. He should act in such a way as to secure the esteem of his people.

10. A ruler of earth, desiring his own welfare, should keep a retinue consisting of descendants from illustrious families, pure, upright, and obliging in character.

11. People seek protection even from a wicked king if his counselors be good. A king with a wicked counsel is seldom approached (for protection) like a sandal tree begirt with snakes.

12. Prohibiting the access of the good to the king, his wicked counselors exhaust his treasury.‖ It is for this

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* The word in the text is *Vayas*, which the commentator explains as 'youthfulness;' but we think it to mean 'old age' which will be more suited to the text. A youthful king is scarcely resorted to as a refuge.

† The commentary reads *[illegible]* for *[illegible]* and explains the former as 'absence of contradiction in speech.'

‡ Or 'on whom fortune ever smiles.'

§ For *Akshudraparichârità* of the text the commentary reads *Akshudraparivâratâ*, which reading we accept.

‖ The word in the text (lit.) translated will be 'eat up,' but the commentary very properly gives the meaning we have embodied.

reason (if not for any other), that a king should have pious and good counselors.

13. Having obtained a flourishing prosperity, a king should dedicate* it to the enjoyment of the pious. For prosperity avails nothing, if it is not participated in by the pious.

14. The wealth and prosperity of the wicked are enjoyed only by others of the same nature. Only crows and no other birds taste the fruit of the *Kimpâka* tree.†

15—19. Eloquence, self-confidence, ‡ accuracy of memory, stateliness of stature, superior might,§ self-control, ingenuity for inventing various means and instruments of torture,|| perfection in all the arts, ability of easily reclaiming men treading evil ways,¶ the power of sustaining an assault of the enemy, knowledge of all the remedies against danger, promptness in detecting the weak points of an enemy, familiarity with the nature of war and peace,$ strict observance of secrecy regarding all consultations and actions, proficiency in turning into account the advantages of place and time, collection of money (from the people) and its proper expenditure, a deep insight into the nature of the dependents, freedom from anger, covetousness, fear, malice, obstinacy and fickleness, avoidance of tyranny, depravity, animosity, jealousy, and

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* For *Vrajet* the commentary reads *Nayait*.

† *Kimpâka*—A cucurbitaceous plant (Trichosanthes palmatia, also Cucumis colocynthus). In the following five Slokas, the author enumerates the necessary qualifications of a monarch.

‡ The commentator explains, 'audacity of refuting even the words of god-like people.'

§ Like that of the hero *Bhima* of the Mahabharata.

|| For *Nipuna* of the text the commentary gives *Nipunam*.

¶ For *Suvigraha* read *Svavagraha*, this reading is also suggested by the commentator.

$ By war and peace here, the author means all the six expedients to be used by a king in foreign politics. The expedients are (*a*) peace or alliance, (*b*) war, (*c*) march or expedition, (*d*) halt, (*e*) seeking shelter, and (*f*) duplicity.

falsehood, compliance with the advices of those older in age and in learning, energy, amiable appearance, appreciation of worth in other people, and smiling words,—these are known to be the indispensable qualifications for a sovereign.

20. Under a king unmoved by the passions and possessed of all these qualifications and perfectly acquainted with men and manners, the subjects live as happily as under the roof of their own father; such a sovereign is worthy of the name *Parthiva*.*

21. A kingdom increases in prosperity, having obtained a *Mahendra*-like† king, who is well-adorned with these royal qualities, and all whose acts are just and impartial.

22. Desire for inbibing knowledge,‡ attentive audition of the lessons taught, their assimilation, retention and the comprehension of their various meanings,§ the discussion of the *pros* and *cons* of a question,‖ a close application to the [illegible]

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* Lit. A ruler of earth. As we have written in the introd[illegible] the author is indebted to the *Rajdharmánusasana Parva* of the *M*[illegible]*ta* for his treatise; there occur many Slokas in the latter [illegible] which may aptly be cited as parallels. For instance here we give [illegible] tion of a Sloka from the *Mahabharata*:—"He is the best of k[illegible] dominions men live fearlessly like sons in the house of their [illegible]

† Mahendra—or the great *Indra* is the Jupiter Pluvi[illegible] mythology. He is the god of the firmament, the regent [illegible] phere and of the east quarter, and his world is called [illegible] *Vedas*, he is placed in the first rank among the gods, bu[illegible] logy, he falls in the second rank. He is inferior to th[illegible] *Vishnu* and *Mahesa*, but he is the chief of all the oth[illegible] the lightning, wields thunder-bolt and pours down rai[illegible]

‡ This thirst for knowledge the commentator a[illegible] that were existent in a previous birth.

§ The word in the text may have another mea[illegible] knowledge of the diverse ways regarding the acquisition of w[illegible]

‖ *Uha*—means conjecture as 'what can th[illegible] *Apoha*—means rejection of doubtful propositions after h[illegible] The two taken together gives the meaning we have emb[illegible]ing.

of the real nature of things,*—these are the characteristic features of the intellect.

23. Skilfulness, activity, living animosity for an enemy, and bravery, these are the characteristic features of energy. Well-accmplished in these attributes (of the intellect and energy), a man deserves to assume the royal functions.

24. Benignity, truthfulness and valour, these are the three noblest† of all royal qualities; possessing these, a king easily attains the rest.

25. The attendants‡ of a monarch should be high-born, pure-natured, heroic, learned, loyal and experts in the practical application of the science of Polity.

26. §All the actions and omissions of a king should be examined by his loyal attendants, whose honesty has been tested by the *Upadhás*|| and who follow up their schemes until they are successful.

27. *Upadhá*¶ is so called because it brings people near the king and can make them enter into his service. *Upadhás* are the means for testing honesty, and by these a king should try his dependents.

28—30. A person, who has got good many friends to de[illegible] him from the paths of vice, who is not a foreigner by

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* Th[illegible] commentator suggests another meaning, namely, 'yearning for spiritual knowledge or knowledge of the Supreme Being.'

† 'F[illegible],' as the commentator explains 'they are most efficacious as means to [illegible]n end.'

‡ The [illegible]ord in the text is *Sachiva*, which generally means a minister; but here [illegible]e commentator takes it to mean, 'those who seek the same interest wi[illegible] the king.'

§ Having enumerated the necessary qualifications for a king, the author how proceeds to describe the qualities of good attendants and ministers.

|| The *Visarga* after *Upadhá* in the text is a palpable mistake.

¶ The *Upadhás* have been explained as above by the author himself. They are four in kind, being (*a*) the test of loyalty, (*b*) the test of disinterestedness, (*c*) the test of courage, and (*d*) the test of continence.

birth,* who possesses a noble lineage and character and great physical strength, who is eloquent and audacious in speech† and is far-sighted,‡ energetic and ready-witted, who is free from obstinacy§ and fickleness and is faithful to his friends, who is painstaking and pure and truthful, who is blessed with eqanimity, cheerfulness, patience, gravity and health, who is a master of all the arts, and dexterous and is prudent and retentive, who is unswerving in his devotion and does not revenge the wrongs done to him by his sovereign,—such a person should be elected as a minister.

31. Accuracy of memory, exclusive devotion to the ways and means and the empire, grave consideration of the *pros* and *cons* of a question, unerring judgment, firmness, and observance of secrecy regarding all counsels—these are known to be the necessary qualifications of a minister.

32. ‖A person well-versed in *Trayee* and *Dandaniti*¶ should be appointed as the royal priest. He should accom-

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* Literally translated, it would be, 'born in the self-same country with his sovereign,' the author denounces the appointment of a foreigner as a minister, on the ground that such a man can have no natural sympathy for his master. In this way no good feeling will cement [illegible] alliance.

† The commentator gives a different meaning, namely, '[illegible] allied.'

‡ Lit. translated it would be 'having eyes'; but in Sanskrit literature *Shâstras* are often identified with the eyes, for they help in clearing many doubts and can enable men to divine what is in store for them, c. f.

> '*Aneka sansaya chchedi paroksharthasya darsanam*
> *Sarvasya lochanam Shâstram yasya nâstyandha eb sa*'

Hence the word in the text may mean 'learned in the *Shâstras* or having the eye of knowledge.'

§ The word may have another signification, namely, 'rigidity of manners.'

‖ The Author now goes on to describe the qualifications of the royal priest and astrologer.

¶ Criminal Jurisprudence or the Science of chastisement.

plish *Sántica, Poustica** and other benedictory rites according to the ordinances of the *Atharva Veda.*

33. A person investigating the nature of the science of Astrology and clever in putting questions to other, and proficient in the computation of hours and minutes,† should be appointed as the king's astrologer.

34. An intelligent monarch should seek information about the honesty of his dependents from men of their stamp and position; he should have their artistic acquirements examined by connoisseurs.‡

35. From their (deqendents') kinsmen, he (the king) should gather information regarding their natural temparament, successful career, serviceability, and their skilfulness, capacity for knowledge and power of assimilation.

36. He should assure himself of the measure of their self-confidence and ingenuity: and he should also examine their fluency and truthfulness by holding conversation with them.

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* *Sántica* literally means, that which brings about *Sánti* or peace; it is a special designation of the expiatory ceremonies or observances calculated to remove or avert danger. *Poustica* literally means 'promoting growth (*poosti*); hence it is a name for those rites that conduce to the welfare of the kingdom.

† The word in the text is '*hora*,' which may mean 'hours' as well as 'zodiacal signs.' If we accept the latter signification, then the text would mean 'proficient in interpreting zodiacal signs.' The use of this word has given rise to a controversy regarding the antiquity of this work, (Vide Introduction).

‡ The author in this and in the following four Slokas goes on to enumerate the sources and measures, from and by which, a king should gather information regarding his dependents and ministers. The syntactical and grammatical structure of this and the one following Sloka is hopelessly defective. The commentary, though needlessly elaborate at other places, is discreetly silent here. So there is no chance of making out what the exact meanings of the Slokas are; what we embody in our rendering is the product of conjecture and common sense.

37. He should mark if they possess energy, prowess, endurance, memory, devotion and steadiness.

38. By their behaviour, he should know their devotion, faithfulness and purity of intention. He should enlighten himself regarding their physical strength, their evenmindedness and their healthiness, from those who live with them.

39. He should directly* ascertain their tractability and resoluteness and their power of keeping their enemies under control and their meanness or gentility.

40. The presence of secondary qualities beyond direct perception, is inferred by their workings; and the success of their workings again is measured† by the results they achieve.

41. A king inclined to evil deeds should be prevented by his ministers; he should regard their advice in the same light as those of his spiritual guide.‡

42. The monarchy collapses with the collapse of the king, while it revives with his revival, like the lotus reviving at the rising of the sun.§

43. Therefore ministers endued with genius, energy, and equanimity, and devoted to the interests of their master, should instil knowledge‖ into him in a suitable mann[er].¶

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* That is, 'not through secondary sources, but personally.'

† For *Bibhāvayet* the commentary gives *Bibhāvyate*.

‡ The text, if translated as it is, would be 'he should pay heed to their words as well as to the words of his spiritual guides.' But there is another reading and we accept that.

§ Sanskrit poetry abounds in instances in which the lotus is regarded as the mistress of the Sun. This metaphor probably has its origin in the fact that lotuses blossom forth at the early dawn. In this natural phenomenon, the 'poet's eye in fine frenzy rolling' finds the delight the sweet-heart feels at the advent of her lord that was away.

‖ We would rather prefer this to be substituted by 'should guide him'; but the text does not allow it; and a translator is fast bound to the oar.

¶ That is, 'by reciting proverbs, apologues and moral tales,' these being considered to be the easiest means of imparting knowledge.

44. Those ministers only are considered to be the true friends and spiritual guides of a king, who deter him from going astray, disregarding repeated warnings not to do so.

45. Those who restrain a king inclined to evil deeds,* are to him his most worshipful preceptors and not mere friends.

46. Even persons well-grounded in knowledge are ensnared by the irristible attractions of the sensual enjoyments. What wrongful act can not then a man, whose heart is enslaved to the pleasures of the senses, commit ?

47. A king perpetrating transgressions is said to be blind in spite of his eyes.†. His friends, assuming the functions of physicians, cure him of his blindness by applying the collyrium‡ of modesty.

48. When a king, blinded by passions, pride and arrogance, falls into the snare set forth by his enemies, the exertions of his ministers serve to extricate him, even as the support of the hand aids a fallen man.

49. Like the *Mâhutas*§ of infuriated elephants, the the ministers of a king are held to blame, when, intoxicated with pride, he goes astray.

50. A kingdom flourishes through the fertility of its soil, and the king prospers through the flourishing condition of the kingdom. Therefore, for his own prosperity, a king should try to make his territory as fertile as possible.

51—52. ||A land adorned with crops, rich in mines,

* The commentary paraphrases 'acts which are prohibited by the *Shâstras*.'

† 'For,' goes on the commentator, 'he can not perceive the sin of his violations.'

‡ Collyrium is described in the Hindu books of medicine to be a well-tried remedy for all disorders of the eye.

§ The *Mâhuta* is the technical oriental name for the keepers of elephants ; one of their duties is to guide them when the king rides on them. Buffon in his 'Natural History,' calls these leaders of elephants *Cornca*.

|| Having explained the necessary qalifcations for monarchs and ministers, the author now proceeds to describe what kind of land is best

minerals, and commodities for trade, conducive to the breed of cattle, copiously watered, (thickly) inhabited by virtuous people and pious sects, possessed of all the charms of nature, abounding in woods swarming with elephants,* having inland and navigable communications, and not depending upon showers of rain for agricultural purposes†—such a land is specially favourable to the welfare and prosperity of kings.

53. A land, overspread with gravels and fragments of stones‡ and covered with forests and thorny brush-woods, and molested by depridators, and arid and infested with beasts of prey, such a land is not worthy of the same.

54—56. A country where living is cheap, the soil of which is fertile§ and copiously irrigated,‖ which is situated at the foot of a mountain,¶ which contains a large number of

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suited to the establishment of a kingdom, and what kind of kingdom brings prosperity on the king.

* The necessity of such woods may at first seem incomprehensible; but it will be obvious when we say that the ancient Aryans, like the Greeks of yore, utilized elephants in martial purposes, and invariably these monsters of the forest constituted a good portion of their army. They were also used in pageants and royal processions.

† *Adevamátriká*.—Lit. translated would mean, 'not having the god of rain or clouds as foster-mother;' hence an *Adevamátriká* land is that which does not entirely depend on rain-water, but has other sources of water-supply, namely, irrigation and floods, for agricultural purposes. Egypt and the countries, through which the Nile flows, can be cited as examples. The opposite of *Adevamátriká* is *Nadimátriká* i.e., having a river as foster-mother.

‡ The commentary here suggests another reading namely *Sarkará-úsharapásháná* (or covered over with gravels, saline soil, and fragments of stones), for which we see no occasion.

§ Or, as the commentator remarks, 'which possesses all the above-mentioned qualifications.'

‖ The word in the text is *Sárúpa* for which the commentary suggests *Sánúpa*.

¶ So that its inhabitants might have an abundant supply of fire-wood and fuels.

*Sudras,** traders and artisans, where the farmers and husbandmen are enterprizing and energetic, which is loyal to its ruler and inhospitable to its enemies, which ungrudgingly bears heavy taxation (for replenishing the treasury), which is extensive in area and is crowded with men from various foreign countries, which is rich and pious and abounds in cattle, and where the popular leaders are not foolish and voluptuous†—such a country is the best of all others. A king should, by all means, endeavour to promote the welfare of such a land, for, with its prosperity, the other constituents of government would also prosper.

57. ‡A king should settle in such a fortress, which has an extensive area, and is environed by a wide ditch and secured with gates strengthened with high and massive walls, and which is sheltered by mighty mountains, forests and deserts.§

58. He should have a castle proof against the inclemencies of the weather, well stuffed with provisions and money, and having an abundant supply of water. A king without a castle is unsteady like patches of clouds before a strong wind.

59. A fort, containing copious water and thickly interspersed with hillocks and trees and situated in a desert and

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* The serving class. The fact of their being numerous in a country would render labour cheap.

† According to the reading accepted in the note (which is *Murkha* &c.) the translation would be 'foolish and voluptuous.' The commentator goes on to explain his curious interpretation by asserting that such leaders do not brother their heads with politics and are not intriguing and capable of deception. They are contented with their lot and leave the king free to govern according to his own whim and caprice ; surely the explation is very ingenious.

‡ The author now gives directions which will help a king to select a suitable site for his castle. These directions, as the reader will see, do credit even to a military engineer of the highest rank.

§ These mountains and forests and deserts would stand in the way of an enemy coming to assault the fort. For *ghana* the commentary gives *Maru.*

riveted on the countenance of his master, to watch what he would do.

22. When the king says 'who is there,' the retainer should respond saying 'here am I at your Majesty's entire command?'* He should with promptitude give effect to his lord's behests to the best of his abilities.

23. He† should avoid (in the presence of his master) breaking out into roars of laughter, coughing, expectorating, yawning, stretching his limbs and body,‡ and making sounds with his finger tips §.

24. Divining his affectionate master's purposes, in a manner approved of by others proficient in thought-reading, he should speak distinctly, when asked to do so, upholding his master's views.

25. When a dispute or debate arises among the assembly of courtiers,‖ the dependent, being directed by his royal master, should cite the opinions of the experts¶ regarding the point at issue, and should ascribe such signification to the disputed term, about which there can be doubt whatever.

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* The text lit: translated would be 'I am here, command me fully.'

† No doubt some of our readers will wonder to find the rules of etiquette laid down here to be perfectly at one with those recognised in western society. In nicety and in minuteness of detail they are in no way inferior or wanting. In the *Mahábhárata* also we find a denouncement of these actions (laughing &c.,) as breaches of etiquette. *C. f.* 'They become so shameless as to indulge in eructations and the like, and expectorate in the very presence of their master.' Sec. LVI., S. 53. *Rájadharmánusásana Parva*

‡ The original word in the text is *Gátrabhanga*, which is taken to signify that peculiar kind of bodily movement which is calculated to shake off idleness.

§ The word in the text is *Parvásphota*; *parva* means fingers-joints and *ásphota* means sound. In ordinary English it is termed 'fillipping.'

‖ The compound lit: translated would be 'the assembly of courtiers, which has been enlarged for the king's pleasure.'

¶ Specially used for any expounder of any particular system.

26. Though thoroughly informed on any point, yet, a prudent servant should never speak in such a way as to silence his master. Though eloquent, he should forego self-gratification on this score.*

27. A dependent should speak of what he knows best as though he knew very little. But with becoming modesty, he should display the superiority of his knowledge by his actions.†

28. A dependent, who is truly anxious for the welfare of his master, should proffer his wholesome advice uncalled-for, only when the latter deviates from the path of rectitude, or when any emergency is imminent,‡ or when a favorable opportunity for any particular action slips away unnoticed.

29. For the interests of justice,§ a retainer should speak sweet, salutary and truthful words, and he should avoid telling what is incredible, indecent,|| uncouth and jarring to the ear.

30. A servant knowing the proper use of time and place, should, when they are favorable, do good to other people; he should also promote his own interests in a skilful manner.

31. He should not (prematurely) divulge those counsels

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* In rendering this portion of the text we have followed the commentary, though another interpretation is apparent, namely, 'Even possessing vast experience, he should not be proud of it.'

† For a similar sentiment campare,

'Pitch thy behaviours low, thy projects high,
So shalt thou humble and magnanimous be.
Sink not in spirit; who aimeth at the sky
Shoots higher much than he that means a tree.'

George Herbert.

‡ The nature of the emergency has been defined in the commentary to be 'warlike preparations by an inimical sovereign.'

§ The word in the text may have another import, namely 'to secure religious merit.'

|| For *Asatya* or false, the commentary reads *Asabhya* or indecent.

and measures* of his master that ought to be kept secret. Even in his mind, he should never harbour the remotest thought of his master's dethronement and death.

32. He should shun the company and close association of women, of those sinful wretches who lustfully gaze at them, of the emissaries of a hostile monarch, of those who had been turned out by his master; he should have no interest to serve with these in common.

33. He should never try to imitate his sovereign lord in his habits and habiliments†; a wise servant should never endeavour to emulate his royal master, even if he might be gifted with royal qualities.

34. A servant, understanding signs and expersions of the face and capable of achieving acts accomplished by experts, should interpret the internal sentiments, sympathy or antipathy (towards himself), of his master, with the assistance of external gestures, appearances and signs.

35. A master, when satisfied with his servant, rejoices at his sight, accepts his advices gladly, offers him a seat near his own and enquires after his health and welfare.‡

36. Then the master does not fear to accompany his servant to sequestered places and to entrust him with secret commissions. Then he attentively listens to conversations relating to his servant or carried on by the latter.

37. The master then feels proud when his servant is praised by others, and congratulates him on his good fortune. The master remembers him (dependent) in the course of any

* The commentary explains the 'measures' to be *Avichhina* &c. for which vide supra, Sec I. Sloka 4th note.

† The reading in the text is '*Vesabhasa*' which we have changed in to '*Vesabhusa*.' The original reading lit: rendered would mean 'the dress and manner of speaking.'

‡ In this and in the following Slokas, the author goes on to describe the behaviour, a servant is to expect, in the hands of his master, first, when he is pleased, and next when he is displeased with him.

conversation* and begins, out of delight, to expatiate on the latter's good qualities.

38. Then the master tolerates the unpalatable language† uttered by his servant and puts up with the censure passed by him.‡ The former then acts up to the latter's advices and highly prizes his counsel.

39. On the other hand, when a master is dis-satisfied with his servant, he treats him with indifference, even if the latter may have rendered many precious services to him. Acts done by his servant, he ascribes to the agency of others.§

40. Then the master incites the rivals of his servant and neglects him when he is afflicted by his enemies. When there is an act to be done by his servant, the master encourages the latter's hopes, but when it is accomplished, he never fulfils them.||

41. Whatever language, (apparently) sweet, the master might address to his servant, would be very cruel in its import; the former smells abuse even in the encomiums the latter offers to him.

42. The master shows himself to be out of temper even when in reality he is not so.¶ When he is pleased with

* The commentator explains 'when others speak favourably of his servant.'

† In the text the word *pathya* is evidently a misprint for *Apathya*. Accepting the latter reading the commentary gives this meaning, *viz* 'advocates his servant's views even if they be harmful.' But we do not see any reason for twisting this meaning out of the original line, specially as in the next line the author lays down a similar assertion. *Apathya* of course means 'unwholesome'; but if we are to accept this meaning, we are sure to be involved in a needless tautology, which it is the duty of every annotator to avoid.

‡ Another meaning is possible, 'overlooks the blame that he (dependent) may lay on his shoulders.'

§ Supply 'to deprive him of his due rewards.'

|| Lit: translated 'acts otherwise.'

¶ So that the dependent may not approach and solicit any favour from him.

his servant, he does not grant him any reward.* Then the master sometimes begins to speak suddenly† and moves towards his servant‡ and casts petrifying glances on him.

43. The master speaks words that cut his servant to the quick,§ and then he breaks out into a derisive laugh.‖ He saddles his servant with false accusations¶ and for no reason whatever deprives the latter of his means of subsistence.

44. The master then contradicts the words which have been very rightly remarked by his servant; sometimes, suddenly wearing a disagreeable look, he unseasonably halts in the very midst of his speech.**

45. If entreated for a favor when lying on bed,†† the master simulates sleep; and even if awakened by the servants solicitations,‡‡ he still behaves like one in a dream.

46. These are the characteristics of a pleased and displeased master respectively. A servant should earn his

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* For his satisfaction is not genuine.

† And thus cuts his servant short. The commentary substitutes *Bhavati* for *Vadati*.

‡ So that, before his servant can clear out of his path, he may have a plea for insulting him saying 'why do you obstruct my way, take your detested carcass away.'

§ The annotator here very rightly suggests *Marma* for *Mantra*, but gives a different meaning to the former, namely 'demerit ;' the rendering then would be 'speaks hinting at his servant's demerits.'

‖ A different reading is suggested *viz* "*Gunda na Vahumanyate*" or 'does not appreciate his merits'. The annotator further explains himself saying 'the master does not relish the jokes cut by his servant and in lieu of laughing, he wears a morose face over them.'

¶ Supply 'to hide his own faults.'

** With a view to wound the feelings of his servant.

†† The commentator thus explains; 'even if the servant, for securing a certain favor, attends his master on his bed and there shampoos and chafes and rubs the latter's legs and arms, still the latter will not be propitiated and to baffle his man he will imitate sleep.

‡‡ *Balaina* means 'by virtue of' 'through the strength of.'

living from a master who is pleased with him, and forego the one from a displeased lord.

47. A servant should never forsake his master in times of danger, even if the latter be very worthless. There is none more praise-worthy than that dependent who stands firm by his master during an emergency.*

48. Firmness and such other qualities of servants are not brought into relief when their masters enjoy peace and tranquility. But when danger presents itself, the names of these very dutiful dependents are associated with the greatest glory.†

49. The act of doing good to the great is an act which the doer may feel proud of, and which he may very well rejoice at ; even though it may be a very insignificant act, it will in proper time bear splendid blessings for him.

50. The commendable duty of a man's friends, relatives and dependents is to dissuade him from acts contrary to the *Shastràs* and to persuade him to those conforming to them.‡

51. Dependents who surround a monarch should try to open his eyes to the evils of inebriety, incontinence and gambling, by means of apologues and moral tales.§ But if

* Apart from other considerations, the advisability of this principle, even from interest's point of view, is quite evident. For surely no master can overlook all the good services rendered by his servant during an emergency ; and for the sake of gratitude, which finds a place even in the sternest heart, he is sure to reward, if not adequately, to some extent, the labours of his faithful dependent.

† What the author means is this :—In times of peace, courage firmness and other similar qualities of a servant have no scope for action ; but when a war breaks out or any other emergency arises, these qualities stand in good stead to their possessor as well as to his master ; they also invest the former with renown and make his name a proverb among his brother-servants.

‡ The author now winds up his discourse relating to the duties of servants, after which he proposes to define the duties of masters.

§ Lit: translated would be, 'the evils of drink, of close association with women, and of dice.'

in spite of their endeavours, the king becomes addicted to any of these vices, (to reclaim him) they should have recourse to *nálikâ** and other such expedients.

52. Those foolish retainers who neglect a king falling into evil ways, run into ruin even with their royal master.†

53. Out of regard for their royal master, the retainers should address him saying 'Victory unto thee,' 'Command thy servant' 'Long live the emperor,' 'My lord,' and even 'My Divinity.' Awaiting their sovereign's commands, the dependents should dance attendance upon his pleasure.

54. (Unhesitating) compliance with the desires of their masters is the foremost duty of all dependents. Even monsters‡ become graceful§ on those servants of theirs who always gratify their humours.

55. What is difficult of being attained by high-souled person endued with intelligence, even-mindedness, and energy?‖ In this earth, what man is ever unfriendly to those people who are sweet-spoken and ever ready to perform the pleasures of others?

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* Neither *Nálikâ* or *Nâlikâ* (the reading of the commentary) has been explained by any lexicographer. But the commentator explains himself by saying that *Nálikâ* &c are same with '*Sâman* &c.' The latter are means of success against an enemy. There are four of them, namely, (a) *Sâman* conciliation or negotiation, (b) *Dâna* gift or bribery (c) *Bheda* sowing dissensions (d) *Danda* punishments or open attack. Some authorities add three more, namely, (e) *Mâyâ* or deceit (f) *Upeksha* trick or neglect (g) *Indrajâla* magic and conjuring. We do not know whether the author advices the dependants to employ these remedies against their royal master going astray. It may be that there is something amiss in the reading.

† 'Share his defeat with him' would be more literal.

‡ Are here intended to typify the cruelest and most heartless and exacting masters.

§ Lit: translated would be 'are won over by.'

‖ Lest people take exception, to what he had said in the last portion of the previous Sloka, saying 'how can a man possibly know the desire of his master,' the author puts in 'What is &c.'

56. Even the mother of one idle, unambitious, illiterate and worthless, turns her face away from him when she has to give him something by way of assistance.*

57. The flourishing prosperity of their royal master is throughly participated in, by those retainers who are brave learned and studious in serving him.

58. The injunction of the elders is that a retainer, though regarded with disfavour by his royal master, should still offer wholesome advice to him. He that carries out this injunction is sure to ingratiate himslf with his sovereign.†

59. ‡In this earth, like the rain-cloud *Parjanya*§, a king should be the source of subsistence to all creatures; when he is not so, he is forsaken by his people just as a withered tree is forsaken by the birds.‖

60. High lineage, virtuous conduct and heroism, these are not taken into consideration from a servant's point of view. People become attached to a liberal and charitable person in spite of his being of vile character and low extraction.¶

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* Turning of the face signifies contempt and displeasure; what the author means, is, 'to an idle illiterate and worthless person even his mother denies the hand of help.'

† This and the previous Sloka are not to be found in some texts.

‡ As we have said before, the author, from this Sloka, begins to describe the duties of a master.

§ *Parjanya*—is the chief of that clan of clouds that by pouring their contents promote the cultivation of this earth. As cultivation greatly depends upon showers of rain, *Parjanya* therefore has been recognised to supply food for all created beings. *C. f.* "*Annât bhavanti bhutâni, Prajanyât annasambhava.*"

‖ Another reading is given for the last portion viz., '*Suskam saras ibâtndajâ*' or 'just as dried-up lakes are forsaken by water-fowls.' We see no reason for this alteration.

¶ What the author wants to insinuate is, 'bravery &c. are thrown away in a monarch who is niggardly and close-fisted.

number-less sons amongst Yadavas. He who reads it with his desired-for objects gained repairs to the region of Hari (55).

CHAPTER XIII.

Agni said :—I will now describe Bhârata,* and the characteristics of Krishna's greatness. Making the Pandavas the instrument Vishnu relieved the earth of her burden (1). Brahmâ sprang from Vishnu's lotus navel. His son was Atri whose son again was Soma. His son was Buddha. His son was Aila and his son was Pururavâ (2). From him was born Ayu whose son was king Nahusha. His son was Yayâti. From him was born Puru in whose family was born Bharata. Then was born king Kuru (3). In his family was born Shântanu whose son was Bhishma given birth to by Gangâ. His younger brother Chitrângada and Vichitra were begotten by Shântanu on Satyavati† (4). After Shântanu's death, Bhishma, who led a life of celebacy, governed his brother's kingdom. Chitrangada was killed when he was a boy by Chitrangada.‡ The two daughters of the king of Kâshi, Amvikâ and Amvâlikâ were brought by Bhishma after having vanquished his enemy and given as wives to Vichitravirya who, some time after, died of consumption. With Satyavati's permission Vyasa begat Dhritarâstra on

* The Mahabharata, one of the two great Indian epics.

† She was the daughter of a fisherman. Shantanu fell in love with her and espoused her on condition that her son would succeed to the throne. Bhishma, the eldest son of Shantanu, led a life of celebacy to make good his father's promise.

‡ A Gandharva king.

Amvikā and Pandu on Amvālikā,* who became king.† Dhritarāstra begat on Gāndhāri hundred sons headed by Duryodhana (5—8). In the hermitage of Shatashringa‡ Pandu was cursed by a Rishi that he would die of his intercourse with his wife.§ Dharma begat on Kunti for Pandu, Yudhishtira, the Wind-god Bhima and Shakra Indra. The two Ashwinis begat on Mādri Nakula and Sahadeva.|| Afterwards Pandu died by knowing Mādri (9—10). Kunti gave birth to Karna in her maiden-hood who was under the protection of Duryodhana. By an accident enmity took place between the Kurus and Pandavas (11). The wicked-minded Duryodhana put the Pandavas into a house of wax and put

* This practice of inviting learned and pious men for begetting offspring on widows was then sanctioned by the Sacred writ. The following six kinds of sons are mentioned in the Adi Parva of the Mahabharata :—

(1) *Aurasha* or the son begotten by one's own self on his wife; (2) *Pranita* or the son begotten on one's own wife by an accomplished person; *Parikriti* or the son begotten on one's own wife by a man for pecuniary consideration; (4) *Paunarbhava* or the son begotten on a wife after her husband's death; (5) *Kanina* or the son born in maiden-hood; (6) *Kunda* or tho son born of a woman who had intercourse with four persons; (7) *Datta* or given by another; (8) *Krita* or bought from another; (9) *Upakrita* or son coming to another out of gratitude; (10) *Sayamupagata* or the son coming himself to give him away; (11) *Sada* or the son born of a pregnant bride; (12) *Hinajonidhrita* or the son born of a woman of lower caste (See Adi Parva Chapter CXIX Verses(33—34).

† Dhritarastra, though eldest, did not get the throne on account of his blindness.

‡ A mountain having a hundred peaks.

§ The story is to be found in the Adi Parva of the Mahabharata. Once on a time Pandu retired into a forest with his two wives Kunti and Madri for a pleasure trip. There he shot down a deer while she was holding intercourse with his mate. She cursed Pandu saying that he would die of her intercourse with his wife. This was eventually brought about by his knowing his wife Madri.

|| Pandu had no issue and he therefore requested his wives to invit various gods for begetting powerful sons on them.

fire to it. The Pandavas however with their mother managed to come out of the burning house (12). Then they all, under the guise of ascetics, lived in Ekachakra in the house of a Brahmana after having slain the Râkshasa Vaka (13). They then went to Pânchâla country on the occasion of Draupadi's Swayamvara.* And by shooting the mark the five Pandavas obtained Draupadi (14). They obtained half of the kingdom when Duryodhana and others came to know (of their whereabouts). Arjuna (obtained) from Fire-God the most excellent car as well as the celestial bow Gândiva as also Krishna as his charioteer in battle. And they all, proficient in the use of arms, obtained from Drona un-ending shafts and Brahma weapons (15—16). Through Krishna's (help) Arjuna set fire to Khândava forest.† And that Pandava with a downpour of arrows put a stop to Indra's showers (17). All the quarters were conquered by the Pandavas. And Yudhishthira ruled his kingdom celebrating a Râjasuya sacrifice‡ with profuse gold. This Suyodhana could not bear (18). He was

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* This was a ceremony prevalent in ancient India. A royal maiden used to invite all the eligible bride-grooms and select one after her heart. The following account of the condition of her *Swayamvara* occurs in the Adi Parva, CLXXXVII of Mahabharata.

"Causing a machinary to be erected in the sky the king Drupada set up a mark to be shot through that machinery. He said:—He who will string this bow, and he who will be able to shoot the mark above the machinery with these ornamented arrows, will obtain my daughter.

† The account occurs in the last chapter of the Adi Parvan of Mahabharata. The allusion is as follows:—Agni fed on clarified butter for years and grew pale. He went to Brahma for a cure who told him to go and devour the forest of Khandava the abode of the enemies of gods. He went there and put fire to it which was extinguished. He came back to Brahma who asked him to secure the help of Krishna and Arjuna who succeeded in the work though even Indra poured down rain to put out the fire.

‡ A sacrifice in which one becomes Lord Paramount after exacting allegience from minor chiefs.

then urged on by his brother Dushāshana, Karna, who had been enriched by him and as well as by Shakuni to play a game of dice, and by a dishonest trick defeated Yudhisthira and won his kingdom from him. The audience then laughed at him. Thus vanquished Yudhishthira with all his brothers retired into woods (19—20). He spent twelve years of the promised period in the forest and fed eighty eight thousand Brahmanas there (21). Then with Dhoumya and Draupadi making up the sixth they went to Virāta's house. The king passed there *incognito* as the twice-born Kanka and Bhima as the cook. Arjuna [lived in the guise of] Vrihannalā,* his wife as Sairindri† and the twins (as keepers of horses and kine). Under another name Bhimasena killed Kichaka‡ in the night who was about to ravish Draupadi. Arjuna defeated Kurus who had taken away kine from (Virata's) cow-shed and Pandavas were afterwards found out (22—24). Krishna's sister Subhadrā gave birth from Arjuna to her son Abhimanyu. Virāta conferred his daughter Uttarā on him (25). Dharmarāja then collected seven Akshouhinis of soldiers. He then despatched Krishna as an emissary for battle who said to the invincible king Duryodhana who was master of eleven Akshouhinis§ of soldiers:—"Give half of your kingdom to Yudhisthira, or at least give him five villages or give him battle."

Hearing his words Suyodhana said to Krishna:—"I will not even give him land measuring the point of a needle. I will fight with him." Then showing him his invincible universal form and adored by Vidura (Krishna) approached Yudhisthira and said "Fight with Suyodhana" (26—29).

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* An eunuch who was the tutor of Uttara.

† Maid-servant of the queen of Virata.

‡ Commander-in-chief of Virata's army who grew enamoured of Draupadi's beauty.

§ A large army consisting of 21870 chariots, as many elephants, 65610 horse and 109350 foot.

CHAPTER XIV.

AGNI said :—The armies of Yudhisthira and Duryodhana assembled on the field of Kurukshetra. Beholding Bhishma, Drona and others and considering them as his elders (Arjuna) did not like to fight (1). The lord then said to Pārtha :—

"You should not grieve for Bhishma and others. The bodies are destructible, but the one, who has the body, does not perish (2). Know this soul as Para Brahma and that *I am Brahma*. Whether (a work) is successful or not a Yogin is always the same. Therefore observe your royal duties(3)".*

Thus addressed by Krishna Arjuna got on his car, struck the musical instruments and fought. In the beginning Bhishma was the commander-in-cheif of Duryodhana's army and Shikhadin was that of the Pandava army. Then there took place encounter between both (the parties). Dhritarāshtra's sons assisted by Bhishma killed Pandavas in battle (4—5). And the Pandavas headed by Shikhandin killed Dhritarāstra's sons in battle. There took place an encounter between Kuru and Pandava soldiers like that between gods and

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* This refers to the celebrated episode of the Mahabharata the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the greatest book ever written in any language of the world. "These two verses constitute, as it, the key-note of the entire teachings of Krishna to Arjuna".

On some points the several philosophic systems vary; but all insist that knowledge is the essential means for the attainment of liberation; more or less all are indifferent to action as a complement of knowledge. Consequently the philosophic systems might become open to the charge that "the ascetic who never stirred from his seat was superior to the active, brave soldier or merchant who defended his neighbours in war or fed them in famine". The Bhagavad-Gita guards the devotee against this erroneous idea, by pointing out the duty of action as involved in "knowledge," and the danger of pure asceticism.

demons, enhancing the delight of and before the very eyes of gods stationed in heaven. For the (first) ten days Bhishma struck down the Pandava warriors with his weapons (6—7).

On the tenth day Arjuna showered arrows on the heroic Bhishma. And urged on by Drupada Shikhandin made a downpour of arrows like unto a cloud (8). The elephant warriors and the infantry struck each other with their respective weapons. Pointing out the road of battle, beholding the sun during its progress to the north of the equator, meditating on Vishnu and hymning his glories Bhishma, having death at his call, lay on a bed of arrows requested by Vasu to repair to his region (9—10).

On Duryodhana lamenting Drona assumed the office of the commander-in-chief. The Pandava soldiers were filled with delight as well as their chief Dhristadyumna (11).

There took place a dreadful encounter (between both the parties) increasing the dominion of Yāma.* Virāta, Drupada and others were sunk in the ocean of Drona† (12). The huge army of Duryodhana, consisting of elephants, horses, cars and infantry, was struck down by Dhristadyumna and Drona looked like death there (13). Afterwards, on (Yudhisthira's) exclaiming "Ashwathāmā‡ is slain" Drona threw off his arms. And then assailed with Dhristadyumna's arrows he fell down on earth (14).

On the fifth day on Duryodhana being stricken with grief the irrepressible Karna, having assailed all the Kshatryas, became his commander-in-chief (15). Arjuna assumed the command of the Pandava army. Then there took place a highly dreadful encounter with various weapons between them both like that between the gods and demons (16).

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* Stripped off metaphor it means "in which many persons were killed".

† *v* harassed by Drona or covered by him with arrows.

‡ He was son of Drona. This was a false report for killing Drona.

In the battle between Karna and Arjuna Karna killed his enemies with arrows. And on the second day Karna was struck down by Arjuna (17). Shalya fought for half a day and Yudhishthira killed him. Having his army slain Suyodhana fought with Bhimasena (18). Having slain many men he addressed Bhimasena. And while he was about to strike him with a club Bhima struck him down as well as his younger brother with his club. In the night of the eighteenth day while asleep the highly powerful Ashwathâmâ assailed one Akshouhini of Pandava army. He killed the sons of Draupadi, the Pânchâla princes and Dhristadyumna (19—21). While Draupadi was bewailing for the death of her sons Arjuna with an Aishika weapon took off the jewel of his head (22). Hari then revived [the warriors] scorched with Ashwathâmâ's weapons. Uttarâ at that time was *enciente* and the offspring of that conception was the king Parikshit (23).

Kritavarmâ, Kripa and Drona's son then retired from the battle-field as well as the five Pandavas, Sâtyaki and Krishna and not others (24). Having consoled his aggreved wives Yudhishthira, with Bhima and others, cremated all the slain heroes and distributed water and riches (15). Having heard from Shântanu's son Bhishma various duties conferring tranquility viz the duties of a king, those leading to emancipation and those about making gifts he became the king* (17). And that represser of enemies made gifts unto Brahmanas in his Ashwamedha (horse) sacrifice. And hearing from Arjuna of the destruction of the Yâdavas from a pestle and settling the kingdom on Parikshit he, with his younger brothers, repaired to heaven (18—19).

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* These accounts occur in the Shanti Parvan of the Mahabharata.

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CHAPTER XV.

AGNI said :—When Yudhisthira was established on the throne Dhritarāstra retired into woods with Gāndhāri and (travelled) from one hermitage into another as well as Prithā, O twice-born one (1). Burnt by a forest-fire Vidura went into heaven. Thus did Vishnu slay the Dānavas the load of the earth, for the protection of virtue and destruction of iniquity making the Pandavas the instrumental thereof. Then with a pestle, under the pretext of a Brahmanic imprecation he destroyed the Yādava race constituting a heavy load and installed Bajra on the kingdom.* Then

* The following account in Vishnupuranam fills up the gap.

MAITREYA said :—Tell me how Janarddana brought about the extermination of his own family under the pretext of a Brahminical curse and In what manner did he renounce his human body.

PARASARA said :—At the holy place of Pindarika, Viswamitra, Kanwa and the great sage, Narada, were seen by some boys of the Yadu family. Inflated with their youth and influenced by predestined results, they dressed and adorned Samba, the son of Jambavati, as a female and taking her to the sages, they addressed them with usual reverence, saying :—"What child will this female, the wife of Babru, who is anxious to have a son, give birth to?" The sages, who were gifted with divine wisdom, enraged at this insult, said :—"She will give birth to a club that will exterminate the entire Yadava race."

Thus addressed by the sages, the boys went to Ugrasena and related to him what had happened ; and after some time, as foretold, a club was produced from the belly of Samba. Ugrasena had the club, which was made of iron, ground to dust and thrown into the sea, and particles of the dust there became rushes. There was one part of the iron club which was like the blade of a lance and which the Andhakas could not break ; this when thrown into the sea was swallowed by a fish ; the fish was caught, the iron spike was extracted from its belly, and was taken by a hunter named Jara. The all-wise and illustrious slayer of Madhu did not think it proper to counteract the predestination of fate.

In the interval an emissary despatched by the celestials came to Krishna and said to him in private :—"I am sent to thee, O lord, by the celestials ; and do thou hear what Indra together with the Viswas Maruts, Adityas, Sadhyas and Rudras respectfully represent. More than a century has gone by since thou in compliance with the request of the celestials, descended upon earth for the purpose of relieving it of its load. The demons have been destroyed and the burden of earth has been removed ; now let the immortals once again see their king in heaven. More than a hundred years have passed and if thou dost wish do thou return to heaven. This is the prayer of the celestials. And if this be not thy will, do thou remain here as long as it may be desirable to thy dependants." Whereto Krishna replied, "I am well aware of all thou hast said. The earth is not relieved of her load until the Yadavas are extirpated. I shall also speedily bring it about in my descent, and it shall take place in seven nights. Having restored the land of Dwaraka to the ocean and destroyed the race of Yadu, I shall proceed to the region of the celestials. Inform the celestials that having renounced my mortal frame and been accompanied by Sankarshana, I will then return to them. The tyrants that oppressed the earth, Jarasandha and the rest, have been slain and a youth even of the race of Yadu is no less than they an incumbrance. Having removed this huge weight of the earth, I will proceed to the mansions of the celestials. Say this to them."

PARASARA said :—O Maitreya, being thus addressed by Vasudeva, the messenger of the celestials bowed and took his heavenly course to the king of the deities. The illustrious Krishna too now espied signs and portents both on earth and in heaven prognosticating day and night the destruction of Dwaraka. Beholding those evil omens, he said to the Yadavas ; "Behold these dreadful portents ; let us hasten to Prabhasa to avert them." When he had thus said to the eminent Yadavas, the illustrious Uddhaba saluted and said to him : "Tell me, O lord, what is proper that I should do, for it seems to me that thou wilt destroy all this race. The signs that are manifest declare nothing less than the annihilation of the race. "Thereupon Krishna replied :—"Do thou by my favour proceed, by this celestial course, to the holy place Badrikasrama in the Gandhamadana mountain, the shrine of Nara Narayana ; and on that spot sanctified by them, thou, meditating upon me, shalt obtain perfection through my favour. Having extirpated this Yadu race, I shall proceed to Vaikuntha ; and after I have quitted Dwaraka, the ocean shall inundate it."

PARASARA said :—Being thus addressed by him and commanded by

Kesava, Uddhaba proceeded to the holy shrine of Nara Narayana. And the Yadavas, with Krishna, Balarama and others, having ascended swift-coursing cars, proceeded to Prabhasa. Having reached Prabhasa, the Kukkuras and Andhakas bathed there and, being excited by Krishna, indulged in liquor. As they drank, the destructive fire of dissension was engendered amongst them by mutual collision and fed with the fuel of abuse. Worked up with ire by the divine influence, they attacked one another with missle weapons, and when these were finished, they had recourse to the rushes growing nigh. The rushes in their hands became like thunder-bolts, and they assailed one another with them. Pradyumna, Syamba, Kritavarman, Satyaki Aniruddha, Prithu, Vipathu, Charuvarman, Charuka, Akrura, and many others, struck one another with the rushes, which became hard like thunder-bolts. Thereupon Krishna arriving there prevented them: but they thought that he was taking part with each severally and continued the conflict.

Thereupon, enraged, Krishna took up a handful of rushes to destroy them, which became a club of iron; and with this he killed many of the murderous Yadavas, whilst others fighting fiercely destroyed one another. At this time in the very presence of Krishna's charioteer, his swift steeds carried off his *Jaitra* car and entered into the sea. The discus, the club, the bow, the quiver, the shell and the sword of Kesava, having circumambulated their master, flew along the path of the sun. In a short time there was not a single Yadava left alive save the mighty Krishna and Daruka. Going towards Rama, who was sittiug at the root of a tree, they saw a huge serpent coming out of his mouth. Having issued out of his mouth, the mighty snake proceeded towards the ocean hymned by saints and other great snakes. Bringing an offering of respect, the ocean came to him and then the majestic being worshipped of all the attendant snakes, entered into the waters of the deep. Beholding the departure of the spirit of Baladeva, Kesava said to Daruka—"Do thou go to Vasudeva and Ugrasena and communicate unto him this. Go and inform them of the departure of Balabhadra, and the destruction of the Yadava race, and also that I shall engage in religious meditation. Do thou also inform Ahuka and the inhabitants of Dwaraka that their city shall be inundated by the ocean. And do ye await the arrival of Arjuna at Dwaraka. When Arjuna, the descendant of Pandu, shall issue out of the city, none of you should wait there but go whither the descendant of Kuru shall repair. Do thou also go to the son of Kunti and tell him that he may at my request protect my family according to his might. Then go to Hastinapur with Arjuna

having renounced his own body in Prabhâsa* at the command of the Deity. Hari was adored by the denizens of Brahmâ and Indra lokas. Balabhadra, the incarnation of Ananta, went to the heavenly region of Pâtâla (2—5).

The Lord Hari is indestructible and is worthy of being meditated on by sages. In his absence the ocean submerged the city of Dwârakâ (6). Having performed the cremation ceremony of the Yâdavas he offered them water and gave away their riches. The cow-herds, with the weapons of rods, carried away, after defeating Partha, all the wives of

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and all the inhabitants of Dwaraka and, let Vajra be installed king over the race of Yadu."

Parasara said :—Thus instructed and having bowed unto and circumambulated Krishna again and again, Daruka departed as he had been desired; and having conducted Arjuna to Dwaravati, the intelligent servant of Krishna established Vajra as king. Thereupon having concentrated in himself that supreme spirit which is identical with Vasudeva, the divine Govinda was identified with all beings. Respecting the words of the Brahmana, the curse of Durvasas, the illustrious Krishna sat engaged in meditation, placing his foot upon his knee. Then there came a hunter named Jara, whose arrow was tipped with a blade made of the iron club, which had not been reduced to powder; and espying from a distance the foot of Krishna he mistook it for a part of a deer, and shooting his arrow, lodged it in the sole. Approaching his mark, he saw the four-armed king and falling at his feet, repeatedly besought his forgiveness, exclaiming, "I have done this deed unknowingly, thinking I was aiming at a deer. Have pity on me who am consumed by my crime; for thou art able to consume me." Thereupon Bhagavan said: "Thou needst not have the least fear, hunter; by my favour, thou shalt repair to the region of the celestials." As soon as Krishna had said this, the celestial car arrived there, ascending which the hunter repaired to the regions of the celestials.

Thereupon the divine Krishna having united himself with his own pure, spiritual, inexhaustible, inconceivable, unborn, undecaying, imperishable, and universal spirit, which is one, Vasudeva, renounced his mortal frame and his connection with the three qualities.

* This sacred shrine is near Ajmere in Rajputana.

Vishnu* at the imprecation of Asthāvakra.† And Pārtha mourned for the loss (7—8). Consoled by Vyāsa he thought "I had strength as long as I was by Krishna." And then returning to the city of Hastinā he communicated every

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* O foremost of ascetics, one day while proceeding, Arjuna, the son of Pritha, halted the people he had brought from Dwaraka in the Panchanada country in a rich and fertile spot; the desires of the neighbouring robbers were excited when they saw a number of widowed females and immense riches in the possession of Arjuna alone. Worked up with their cupidity they assembled their villainous herds and said to them:— This Arjuna, alone with his bow, is passing amongst us having immense riches and numbeless women with him, whose husbands had been slain; cursed is thy strength therefore. His pride hath been increased by the death of Bhishma, Drona, Jayadratha, Karna and others; he is not cognisant of the prowess of the simple villagers. Up, up, take your long thick staves; this stupid fellow hates us. Why should we not lift up our arms?" Saying this they rushed armed with cudgles and clods of earth, upon the people who were without their lord. Arjuna met them and said to them in contempt; "Go away, O ye wretches, ignorant of what is right, if you do not wish to die." But they neglected his threats and seized his treasures and women, the wives of Viswaksena.

† In ancient time, a Brahman, named Ashtavakra, was pursuing his religious penances, standing in water and meditating on the eternal spirit for many years. On account of the overthrow of the Asuras there was a great festival on the summit of Meru; on their way to which Rambha, Tilottama and hundreds of other beautiful nymphs praised and hymned him for his devotions. They bowed unto him and eulogised him when he was immersed in water up to his throat, his hair twisted in a braid. They sang in honour of him whatever they thought would be agreeable to that most eminent of Brahmanas. Ashtavakra at last said to them:—"I am well pleased with you, illustrious damsels; ask of me, whatever you wish and I will give it however difficult it may be of attainment." Thereupon all these nymphs, Rambha Tillottama and others mentioned in the Vedas, replied;—"It is enough for us that thou art pleased, what else need we say, O Brahman?" But some amongst them said:—"If you are indeed pleased with us, O illustrious sire, thou grant us a husband, the best of men and sovereign of Brahmanas." Thereupon saying "so be it," Ashtavakra came up from the waters. When the nymphs observed him coming

thing unto Yudhisthira and his other brothers, who were the protecters of men at that time, saying "I have the same bow, the same weapons, the same car and the same horses. But they are all useless in the absence of Krishna as is a gift given to one born in an inferior family."

Hearing it and placing Parikshit on the throne the intelligent Dharmarâja with Draupadi and his brothers set out for final place, perceiving the instability of the world and reciting the (name of) Hari eight hundred times (9—12). On the great road dropped down Draupadi with Sahadeva and Nakula, Phalguna, Bhima and the king were filled with grief (13). Then seated on a car brought by Indra, he with his younger brothers, reached the celestial region. And beholding Duryodhana and others as well as Vâsudeva he was filled with delight. I have thus described Bhârata unto thee. He who reads it repairs to heaven (14).

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out of the water and saw that he was very ugly and crooked in eight places they could not restrain their merriment and laughed aloud. The Muni was very angry and imprecated them with a curse, saying — "Since you have been so impertinent as to laugh at my deformity, I denounce upon you this curse; through the favour I have shown unto you, you shall obtain the first of males for your husband; and on account of my curse, you shall afterwards fall into the hands of thieves.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Agni said :—I will now describe the Buddha* incarnation, by reading and hearing of which one acquires great profit. Formerly in the war between gods and demons the

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* A general name for the deified teachers of the Buddha sect amongst whom numerous Buddhas are reckoned. The name is here especially applied to the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. He was born at Kavilavastu at the foot of the Nepala mountain. His father was Suddhodana who was a king and his mother was Mayadevi. The following sunmary of his life and work taken from a well-known work from the 4th to the 20th year.

4th year. Goutama admitted a rope-dancer to the Order and lived in Mahabana.

5th year. He went to *Kapilavastu* to see his father who was dying. After the cremation he returned to Mahabana followed by his step-mother and his wife, who were accompanied by many ladies. They all earnestly asked him to be admitted to the Order, but the Buddha was not willing to admit them to the Order, but at last yielded to the earnest advocacy of Ananda. He then retired to a hill near Allahabad.

6th year. Goutam returned to Rajgriha and admitted *Kshama*, the queen of *Bimbasura* to the Order. One of his disciples displayed miracles, but the Buddha strictly ordered that no miracles should be displayed and he particularly enjoined that miracles had nothing to do with religion.

7th year. His opponets induced a woman, named *Chincha*, to accuse him of a breach of chastity, but her deceipt was exposed.

8th year. He passed on a hill near *Kapilavastu*, made some new converts and returned to *Kosumbi*.

9th year. A great dissension broke out in the Order. The Buddha tried in vain to establish peace and amity. At last being disgusted, he left his disciples and went alone to the forest of *Parilyaka*.

10 year. The neighbouring villagers built him a hut, where he spent the rainy season. Here the refractory Buddhist monks found him out and asked his pardon. They were forgiven and well received. With his repentant disciples he went to *Sravasti* and thence to Rajgriha.

former were defeated by the latter. Saying "Save us, Save us!" they sought refuge with Iswara. Being incarnation

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11 year. He made some more important converts and passed his time in Magadha and Kosala.

12th year. He made his longest journey, going as far as *Mantala* and returning via Benares, preaching in all the places he visited.

13th year. He spent the year in *Chaliya* and *Sravasti* in delivering discourses.

14th year. He remained in *Sravasti*, where he delivered a discourse to his son *Rahula*. He then travelled to *Kapilavastu*.

15th year. The whole of the year he remained in the wood outside *Kapilavastu*, where he addressed a discourse to his cousin *Mahanama*, who had succeeded his father on the throne of *Kapilavastu*. He delivered also a discourse on the superiority of righteousness to alms-giving.

16th year. This year was spent at a place called Alawi.

17th year. He went to Rajgriha and passed the rainy season there. He preached a sermon on the occasion of the death of *Srimati* a courtezan. He refused to preach to a hungry man until he had been well-fed.

18 year. He went to *Chaliya*, where he instructed a weaver who accidentally killed his daughter. After passing the rainy season there he returned to Rajgriha.

19th year. Goutam travelled through Magadha preaching in all the villages. On one occasion finding a deer caught in a snare, he released it and fed it. The angry hunter tried to kill him, but he preached to him, who with all his family became his disciples.

20 year. He spent the year in preaching in villages and towns. In the forest of *Chaliya* he succeeded in overcoming by kindness a notorious robber named Angulimala, whom he persuaded to become a Buddhist Monk.

From the 21st year to the 45th year of his Buddha-hood we know almost nothing of his mission works. Perhaps one year was so much alike of the other, that his chroniclers did find nothing to narrate.

The *Summum bonum*, according to Buddha of a man's life, is to attain *Nirvana*, and this every man can acquire by spiritual exercises. He laid down the following laws for his monks.

What is that Law? It is (1) the four Earnest *Meditations* (2) the four Great *Efforts* (3) the four Roads to *Saintship* (4) the five *Moral*

of illusion and infatuation he was born as the son of Suddhodana (2). He infatuated the Daityas and made them

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powers (5) the seven kinds of *Wisdom*, and (6) the *Noble Eight-fold Path.*" (Rh. D. BUDDHIST SUTTAS, pp. 61-63.)

This is the sun and substance—a short summary,—of the teachings of the Buddha. We shall now try to explain each of the above docrines.

1. The four *Earnest Meditations* are meditation.

(*a*) On the impurity of the body.

(*b*) On the evils which arise from sensation.

(*c*) On the impermanence of ideas.

(*d*) On the conditions of existence.

2. The four *Great Efforts* are the efforts.

(*a*) To prevent bad qualities from arising.

(*b*) To put away bad qualities which have arisen.

(*c*) To produce goodness not previously existing.

(*d*). To increase gondness when it does exist.

3. The four Roads to *Saintship* are four means by which it is attained, namely,—

(*a*) The will to acquire it.

(*b*) The necessary exertion.

(*c*) The necessary preparation of the heart.

(*d*) Investigation.

4. The five *Moral Powers* are :—

(*a*) Faith.

(*b*) Energy.

(*c*) Recollection.

(*d*) Contemplation.

(*e*) Intuition.

5. The seven kinds of *Wisdom are*,—

(*a*) Energy.

(*b*) Recollection.

(*c*) Contemplation.

(*d*) Investigation of Scripture.

(*e*) Joy.

(*f*) Repose.

(*g*) Serenity.

6. The Noble *Eight-fold Path* are,—

(*a*) Right Belief.

relinquish the religion of the Veda. They then became followers of Buddha and induced others to forsake Vedic

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(*b*) Right Aims.
(*c*) Right Speech.
(*d*) Right Actions.
(*e*) Right Means of livelihood.
(*f*) Right Endeavour.
(*g*) Right Mindfulness.
(*h*) Right Meditation.

The following general rules of a householder's duties are most beautiful.

General Duties.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

Parents should —

1. Restrain their children from vice.
2. Train them in virtue.
3. Have them taught arts and science.
4. Provide them with suitable husbands, or wives.
5. Give them their inheritance.

The child should say :—

1. I will support them who supported me.
2. I will perform family duties incumbent on them.
3. I will guard their property.
4. I will make myself worthy to be their heir.
5. When they are gone, I will honour their memory.

PUPILS AND TEACHERS.

The pupils should honour their teachers.

1. By rising in their presence.
2. By ministering to them.
3. By obeying them.
4. By supplying their wants.
5. By attention to instruction.

The teacher should show his affection to his pupils—

1. By training them in all that is good.
2. By teaching them to hold knowledge fast.
3. By instruction in science and lore.
4. By speaking well to them, to their friends and companions.
5. By guarding them from danger.

religion (3). He became *Arhata** and afterwards made others *Arhatas.* Divorced from Vedic religion they became all Pâshandinas† (4). They committed (sinful) deeds capable of taking one to hell and received (gifts) from degraded persons. At the end of Kali yuga there will be mixed castes (5). And there will flourish robbers having no character. The Veda of Vājasaneya, proved by its fifteen branches, will be in existence (6). Under the cover of religion they will preach irreligion. And the Mlechhas in the guise of kings will devour men (7). Armed with a coat of mail and weapons, Vishnuyasha's son Kalki, with Jājnavalka as his priest, will extirpate the Mlechhas, establish the order and respective dignity of the four Varnas and various Ashramas‡ and lead people to the path of pure religion (8—9). Then having renounced the form of Kalki Hari will return to

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HUSBAND AND WIFE.

dThe husband should cherish his wife.

1. By treating her with respect.
2. By treating her with kindness.
3. By being faithful to her.
4. By causing her to be honored by others.
5. By giving her suitable ornaments and clothes.

The wife should show her affection for her husband :—

1. By doing her household works aright.
2. By being hospitable to kinsmen and friends.
3. By being a chaste and faithful wife.
4. By being a thrifty housekeeper.
5. By showing skill and diligence in all she has to do.

* Enlightened. A general term applied to the chief saints of the Buddha sect. They are ranked by them as superior to the gods of other sects.

† Irreligious people.

‡ A religious order of which there are four kinds referable to the different periods of life; 1st that of the student or *Brahmacharin.* 2 that of the house-holder or *Grihasta*; 3 that of the anchorite or *Vanaprastha*; 4th that of the beggar or *Vikshu.*

heaven. Thereupon Kritayuga will come into existence as before (10). Thus in all the Kalpas and Manwantaras the various Varnas and Asramas are established in their duties (11). There are numerous incarnations past and future. The pure man, born in a good family, who hears of or reads the ten incarnations of Vishnu, having acquired all desired for objects, attains to heaven. It is Hari who makes all arrangements of virtue and vice, and it is Hari, the cause of creation &c, who incarnates himself (12—13).

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CHAPTER XVII.

AGNI said:—Hear, I will now describe Vishnu's sport of the creation* of the universe and others. He is the author of the creation and the beginning of the universe and creation and is with and without Gunas† (1). Brahma is un-

a The Hindu philosophers consider the work of creation and dissolution as merely a sport of the Lord.

b The three gunas or the universal tendencies of Nature form a most important factor in the metaphysical system of the Hindus. The great first cause is the Infinite, Incomprehensible, Self-existing Being from whom all spiritual and material matter is derived and from whom proceeds the universe; being immaterial he is above corruption; being invisible he can have no form or quality; but what we behold in his works. The entire universe, consisting of animate and inanimate creations, has emerged out of God and into Him, it will, in course of time, subside. He is the Absolute Reality and all things, present to our consciousness, are its phenomena or shows. The God is the neumenon and the universe before us is the phenomenon. The Absolute Real God manifests Himself as related by creating the universe

manifest and existent. In the beginning there was no sky, no day or night. Entering into Prakriti (nature) and Purusha

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which is called His Maya. As the beautiful luminary the sun casts its rays of light upon millions of pools of water and represents himself at the same moment on each of them, so are our souls the manifestations of the Divine Being. The creating power or energy of God is Prakriti or Nature—the material cause of the universe. It is blind and purposeless, without form or parts, is eternal, material, universal, forming for itself yet undeveloped being from which proceeds the visible world. In this creative energy of God, the material cause of the universe we find, on an analysis, three universal tendencies which are named by the Rishis the three *Gunas*. The action of these universal tendencies is not only visible in the nature of men, but it is equally so in the lower order of animate beings as well as in the inanimate creation. We find three universal tendencies or forces acting on the face of the creation. There is the chaotic or disorganising tendency which leads everything into confusion, there is the isolating tendency, by which every object tries to secure an individual position of its own and there is the harmonizing tendency by which every object gravitates to a centre in creation and which tries to bring all objects of creation into one universal order. Thus in the creation there is one disorganising tendency, one isolating tendency and one organizing tendency. These three universal tendencies are inherent in creation, both animate and inanimate and every form of growth is dependent upon the working of these tendencies. They are not the materials or ingredients which form all the objects of Nature but the laws that regulate their creation—the inherent energies or tendencies. The first is called the *Tama guna* or the disorganizing tendency or the energy that brings on confusion in the work of creation and puts obstacles in the way of order or harmony. The second is called *Raja-guna* or isolating tendency—or the inherent energy by which every object, in nature, struggles to secure its own independence and to isolate itself from the rest. The third is the *Sattwa-guna* or the tendency that tries to establish universal order,—the energy that tries to evercome confusion and isolating tendencies and bring every thing into the centre of a universal order. Because the creative energy of the God is invested with these three qualities or universal tendencies therefore every object in the creation partakes of its nature. Thus the harmonizing or organizing tendency is called the *Sattwa-guna*; the isolating tendency is called the *Raja-guna*, and the disorganizing

tendency is called the *Tama-guna*. These three universal tendencies, energies or qualities regulate the entire creation.

THE Hindu Rishis have always meditated on their *Brahma* or Supreme Deity in His two aspects, namely *Saguna* or immanent and *Nirguna* or transcendent. The entire universe is resolvable into two factors, Nature and God; by the former may be understood the "totality of perceptible phenomena, and by the latter the eternal ground or cause whose essence they express." God is Himself the Real Absolute, and Nature is His objective manifestation. He is the eternal abiding ground, and Nature is the transient phenomenon. God is what *is* and Nature is what *appears*. Thus in His true, real nature God is transcendent; He is immanent when He manifests himself in Nature. The relation of God with the objective word is governed by three *Gunas* or qualities. These *Gunas* are the qualities for primary elements which constitute the entire objective world. These three principles are essential ingredients of which every object of Nature, from a man to an insect, from a mountain to a grass, is formed. These are the three universal tendencies, which govern the relation of the universe with the God, the relation of the object with the subject. These are the forms in which the Absolute Reality manifests itself. These three *Gunas* are *Sattwa* or the principle of organisation, *Rajas* or the principles of self-attraction and *Tamas* or the principle of disorganisation. When God manifests Himself in Nature He appears in these forms as such as such He is called immanent or *Saguna*. When God is in Nature, when the objective world is viewed in its relation to, and dependence on its author He is *Saguna*. Immanency is attributable to God only when He manifests Himself in Nature, only when the relation of the object with the subject is taken into consideration. The phenomena of Nature are objects which are not eternal. They are not permanent entities, but undergo changes. And so they must be related to an Eternal Subject, an abiding ground that remains unchanged in the midst of changes. No one can help thinking of something behind what he sees or feels. The colour, the form, the sound are not floating attributes,—they are attached undoubtedly to a permanent ground. This Eternal Essence from which all objects of Nature proceed, this permanent abiding ground which sends out all phenomena of Nature, this Absolute Reality which suffers no changes, is the *Nirguna Brahma* of the Hindu Rishis. God is transcendent as the absolute Reality—the Absolute Truth, Intelligence and Bliss—*sat, chit, anandam*. This is the true Nature of God that has been so often described in glowing terms by the Rishis of the Upanishads.

The Sacred Scriptures of the Hindus speak of God as both *Saguna* and *Nirguna* as manifesting in Nature and again transcending the objects of Nature—as partaking of qualities or *Gunas* of Nature and again transcending them. *Isa-Upanishad* it is said :—

तदेहेति तन्नैजति तद्दूरे तद्वन्तिके ।
तदन्तरस्य सर्व्वस्य तदुसर्व्वस्यास्य बाह्यतः ॥

"It (Brahman) moves but (truly) does not move; it is near, it is also distant. It is inside all this, and outside all this."

Similarly many other Sruti texts clearly prove that the Rishis of the Upanishadas contemplated upon the Divine Being both as *Saguna* and *Nirguna*. The former aspect of the Divine Nature is transitory, subject to change, relative and dependent, and while the latter is essential, absolute and eternal. The *Saguna* aspect is limited in time and space and *Nirguna* transcends all such limitations. The *Saguna* is ever changing and whirling, the *Nirguna* is enduring, central, regulative and reposing eternally in the midst of changes. The *Saguna* is accidental, and *Nirguna* is essential. The *Saguna* aspect is finite, and *Nirguna* is infinite. The *Saguna* excludes *Nirguna*, but *Nirguna* comprehends *Saguna*. The finite can not contain the infinite, but infinite can comprehend the finite.

It is for this reason the Rishis of the Upanishada hold that the *Nirguna* describes the nature of God in its absolute truth. Thus the conception of *Nirguna* is the conception of the True and Absolute Divine Being. The true nature of God, according to the Rishis, is *Nirguna*. it is only when His powers are alluded to in His manifestation in the object of Nature that He is called *Saguna*. They have therefore given a decided preference to the worship of *Nirguna*, though often times their disciples are exhorted to contemplate on the *Saguna* aspect of the Divine Being. It is indeed, very difficult to conceive One, Absolute, Infinite Being—but it is not very difficult to conceive Him in Nature, to contemplate Him as the author of the objective world and exercising His power in its preservation and destruction. The latter, though practically infinite is really speaking relative and finite. The *Nirguna* indicates the the true nature of the Divine Being while *Saguna* describes His power which though infinite in nature depends upon time and space for its manifestation. From the contemplation of the *Saguna* aspect of God one can arrive at that of the *Nirguna*—which is the ultimate goal of the spiritual exercises of a worshipper. *Nirguna* or absolute attributes of God include the *Saguna* or relative attributes. The only

(soul) Vishnu agitated them (2).* In the beginning of the creation first came out the principle of Mahat (greatness) and then that of Ahakāra† (egoism) and then the Vaikārika,

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difference between them is that the former describes the true Nature of the Divine Being, and the latter how He manifests Himself in Nature and governs the creation. Though the first stage in a man's religious culture is the contemplation of the *Saguna* aspects, the ultimate, goal however, is that of *Nirguna*.

Kena Sruti thus describes Him :—

"He is the ear of ears, mind of minds, words, prana of pranas, and eye of eyes.

"People cannot conceive Him in their mind, but He knows it. Know Him as Brahma.

"Know him as Brahma whom people cannot see with their eyes, but through whose power they see all objects of vision."

"He is not to be seen by eyes, not to be described by words, not to be conceived in mind. We do not know Him. Know Him as Brahma who is indescribable in words, but who (*i.e.*, whose power) gives utterance to words.

* According to Sankhya the creation is effected by the involuntary union of soul and nature. Others hold that Brahma brings about this union for a mere sport.

† The twenty-five principles of Sankhya's system are (first) Prakriti or Pradhana : the universal and material cause ; the root or the other plastic origin of all. It is eternal productive but not produced.

2. Intelligence otherwise called Mahat or Buddhi. This is the first production of nature and the intellectual principle.

3. Ahankara or the consciousness of ego or I am. This is produced by intellectual principle.

4—8. Five Tanmatras or subtile particles or atoms perceptible to beings of a superior order, but unapprehended by the grosser senses of mankind. These are the production of the consciousness of ego.

9—13. Five instruments of sensation, namely, the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue the skin.

14—18. The five instruments of action, namely, the organ of speech, the hands, the feet, the organ of excretion and the organ of generation.

19. Mind, serving both for sense and action.

20—24. Five elements produced from (the five elemental particles, namely, (1) ether, or the vehicle of sound ; it has the property of

Taijasa and Tāmasa creations (3).* From Ahankāra emanated Akāsha (ether) the vehicle of sound, air sensible to hearing and fire sensible to sight. Taste is the elementary particle of water and smell is that of earth. From Ahankara and the quality of Tamas emanate luminous bodies and organs [of sense and action] (4—5). The ten-fold devas (celestials are the (first) transition from the natural or the quiescent condition of the soul. Manas or mind is the eleventh organ. Then came into existence the self-sprung Lord desirous of creating various creatures (6). He first created water and in it seeds. Waters are called Nāra for they are the creation of Nara (the spirit of God); and since they were his first Ayana or place of motion, he hence is named Nārāyana or moving on the waters. The egg engendered in the water was gold-hued. In it Brahmā himself was born and therefore the Sruti reveals him to us *Swayambhu* or self-born. Having lived there for one full year the Lord Hiranyagarbha sundered that egg into twain, one forming heaven and another earth. And between these two fragments the Lord created the sky (7—10). The ten quarters upheld the earth when it was submerged under water. There Prajapati, desirous of creating created time, mind, speech, desire, anger and attachment and their counterparts. He created thunder

audibleness; (2) air, sensible to hearing and touch; (3) fire, sensible to hearing, touch and sight; (4) water, sensible to hearing, touch, sight, taste; (5) earth sensible to hearing, touch, sight, test and smell.

25. Soul termed Purusa or Atman which is neither produced nor productive. It is multitudinous, individual, sensitive, eternal, unalterable, and immaterial. These twenty-five principles are thus contrasted in *Karika* "Nature, root of all, is no production, Seven principles, the great or intellectual one etc., are productions and productive; sixteen are productions (unproductive). Soul is neither a production nor productive."

* *Vaikarika* is the first creation which is the outcome of the first transition from the natural or the queiscent condition of soul. *Taijasa* or luminous bodies *Tamasa*: is the creation of the quality of ignorance.

and cloud from lightning, rain-bow and birds from red colour. First of all he created Parjanya (Indra) and then from his mouth the Rik, Saman and Yayush. For completing sacrifice [he created] Saddhyas* who propitiated the Devas, the most exalted order of creation with sacrifices. [He then created] Sanatkumar from his arm and Rudra from his anger. [He then created] Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vashistha. They were regarded as the mind-born sons of Brahmâ. O foremost [of sages] these seven procreated many dreadful offspring. Having divided his own body he became male with one half and female with another. Brahmâ then procreated progeny on her (the female half) (11—16).

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CHAPTER XVIII.

AGNI said :—Priyavrata and Uttânapâda were the two sons of Manu Swâyambhuva who begat them on the maiden Shatarapa† endued with asceticism. The Lord Paramount [Uttânapâda] begat on Kardama's wife Kâmya‡ [two daughters] Samrât and Kokshi. Uttânapada begat on Suruchi§ a son [by name] Uttama (1—2). He begat on Suniti a son [by name] Dhruva. O Muni, for establishing his fame Dhruva carried on austerities for three thousand celestial years (3). Propitiated with him Hari conferred

* Inferior deities or demi-gods.

† Literally having a hundred forms.

‡ In Vishnu Purana it is " Kanya.

§ Suruchi and Suniti were the two queens of Uttanapada.

on him a fixed station above all constellations.* Beholding his advancement Ushana† recited the [following] verses :— "Oh! I have heard of the wonderful ascetic powers of this Dhruva, placing whom before the seven Rishis‡ are now situate (5).

Dhruva begat on his wife Shambhu two sons Shisthi and Bhavya. And Shisthi begat on Suchāya five sinless sons (6), (viz) Ripu, Ripunjaya, Vipra, Vrikala and Vrikatejasam. Ripu begat upon Vrihatee the highly effulgent Chākshusa who again begat Manu Chākshusa on Pushkarini of the race of Varuna. Manu begat on Nadvala ten most excellent sons (7—8)—Uru, Puru, Satādumaya, Tapaswi, Satyavāk, Kavi, Agnistoma, Atirātra, Sudumnya, and Abhimanyu (9). Uru begat on his wife Agneyi six highly effulgent sons, Anga, Sumanas, Svati, Kratu, Angiras and Gaya§ (9—10). And Anga begat on Suneethi one son [named] Vena. Given to sinning and negligent to protect [his subjects] he was slain by the Rishis with Kuça reeds (11). But with a view to multiply his progeny the Rishis rubbed his right hand.‖ And from the rubbing of Vena's hand sprang the king

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* An exhaustive account of Dhruva's translation to stellar regions occurs in Vishnupuranam. "I do confer upon thee, O Dhruva a station which is above those of the sun, the moon, stars, Mercury, Venus, Saturn and all other constellations; above the regions of seven Rishis and the deties who traverse the universe".

† The preceptor of Daityas.

‡ The seven sages, Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasishtha : here the constellation called Ursa Major. the seven stars of which are said to be the seven sages mentioned above.

§ In Vishnupuranam the name *Siva* occurs for Gaya.

‖ A complete account of Vena's oppressions and haughtiness occurs in Vishnupuran. He oppressed his subjects and grew so haughty that he did not allow the sages even to perform a sacrifice in honor of Hari. For this insolence the Rishis killed him. So that he might not die sonless and the kingdom might not suffer from the absence of a king they rubbed Vena's right hand from which sprang the popular king Prithu.

Prithu (12). Seeing him the Rishis said :—" This highly effulgent king will satisfy his subjects and acquire great fame (13). Armed with a bow and coat of mail Vena's son Prithu, the predecessor of the Kshatriyas, protected his subjects as if consuming all with his innate lustre (14). He was the first of the lords of the earth who were sprinkled with water on the occasion of Râjasuya sacrifice*. From that ceremony were born the clever Suta† and Mâgadha‡ (15). The two heroes composed verses in his praise. He obtained the appellation of *Râjâ* by pleasing his subjects. With celestials, Munis, Gandharvas (celestial musicians), Apsaras, (Nymphs) Pitris,§ Dânavas, serpents, reptiles and mountainous subjects he milched the earth for corns and for preserving the lives of his subjects. Milched Vasundharâ‖ poured desired-for milk into every vessel with which they sustained themselves (16—18).

Prithu had two pious sons Antardhâna and Pâli. And Antardhâna begat on Shikhandini a son named Havirdhâna (19). And Havirdhâna again begat on Dhishana six sons,

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* *v.* He was the first of all the Lords Paramount of the world.

† The founder of the race of bards whose duty was to compose verses about the families of great kings and sing their praises.

‡ The first born of the panegyrists—a class of men who flourished in every royal court of ancient India.

§ Departed manes : they are a class of inferior deities.

‖ The goddess Earth. A beautiful story about Prithu's attack of Earth on behalf of his subjects occurs in Vishnu Puranam. Once the country suffered from famine and draught. Patitioned by the Rishis Prithu got enraged and pursued the Earth with uplifted arrows. She fled from one place to another and at last helplessly agreed to give what Prithu wanted. She asked him to give her a calf and level the surface of the earth. She then gave milk which is the root of all vegetation. This story has a great moral value. It shows that Prithu was the first king who levelled the surface of the earth and introduced cultivation. From him the Earth received the name of *Prithivi* i.e. the daughter of Prithu.

Prăchinavarhis, Shukra, Gaya, Krishna, Vreya and Ajina (20). [He was named Prăchinavarhis] on account of his placing upon the earth at the time of his prayer the sacred grass pointing to the east. The Lord Prăchinavarhis was a mighty king and Patriarch (21). Prāchinavarhis begat on Savarna, the daughter of Samudra (the ocean-god) ten sons who were all named Prachetās and well skilled in archery (22). They all practised the same religious austerities and remained immersed in the bed of the deep for ten thousand years (23).

Having obtaianed the dignity of patriarchs and pleased Vishnu they came out, [found] the sky overspread with trees and burnt them down (24). Beholding the trees destroyed by the fire and wind produced from their mouths Soma, the king [of plants] approached those patriarchs and said (25).

"Renounce your grief, I will confer on you this most excellent maiden Mārisha* begotten by the ascetic sage Kandu on (the nymph) Plamochā and [nourished) by me. Cognizant of the future I created this wife for you capable of multiplying your family. She will give birth to Daksha who will multiply progeny" (26—27).

Pracheta accepted her; and from her was born Daksha and the mobile and immobile creation, the two-legged creatures and quadrupeds (28).

The mind-born Daksha afterwards procreated daughters. He conferred ten of them on Dharma, thirteen on Kashyapa, twenty six on Soma, four on Aristhanemi, two on Vahuputra

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* The great Rishi Kandu engaged in great penances. This filled the king of gods with fear who despatched nymph Plamocha to obstruct his devotion. The sage fell in love with her and lived in her company for many years. Afterwards perceiving his mistake he renounced her. Being remonstrated with by that sage she issued out of the hermitage and began to wend her way by the welkin rubbing the perspiration of her body with the leaves of the trees. The child, she had conceived from the sage, came out from the pore of her skin in drops of perspiration. The trees received those drops and the wind collected them. Soma protected it with his rays till it increased in size.

and two on Angiras (29—30). By mental intercourse they gave birth to Devas, Nagas and others. I will now describe the progeny of Dharma begotten by him on his ten wives (31). Vishwâ gave birth to Vishwadevatas* Sâdhyâ to Sâdhyas, Marut to Maruts† and Vasu to Vasus‡. The Bhânus (suns) were the sons of Bhânu and the deities governing the moments of Muhurtha. Ghosa was begotten by Dharma on Lamvâ and Nâgavithi§ was born of Yami (32—33). And all the objects of the world were born of Arundhati Sankalpâ (pious determination) was born of Sankalpâ. The stars were the sons of the moon (34).

Apa, Dhruva, Soma, Dhara, Anila, Pratyeusha and Pravâsa were the names of the eight Vasus (35).

The sons of Apa were Vaitanda, Shrama, Shânta and Muni. Dhruva's son was Kâla, the destroyer of the world and Soma's son was Varchas (light) (36). Dhara's sons by Manohara were Dravina, Hutâhavyavaha, Shishira, Prâna and Ramana (37). Anila's sons were Manojava (swift as thought) and Avijnâtagati (unknowable motion). And Agni's son Kumâra was born in a clump of Sara reeds (38). His sons were Sâkha, Visâkha, Naijameya and Pristhaja. Kirtikâ's son was Kartikeya and the ascetic Sanatkumar (39). Pratyasa's son was Devala. Prbhâsa's son was Vishwakarma. He was the maker of thousand arts for the celestials (40). And men are now making their liveli-hood out of the arts invented (by him). Kashyapa begat on learned Surabhi eleven Rudras (41).

By the favour of Mahadeva whom she thought of in her ascetic observances Sati gava birth to Ajaikada, Hirbradhna,

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* A class of deities to whom daily offerings are to be made.

† Wind-gods.

‡ A kind of demi-god of whom eight are enumerated viz Dhava, Druva, Soma (moon), Vishnu, Anila (wind), Anala (fire) Prabhusa and Prabhava.

§ The milky way.

Twasta and Rudra. Twastā's son was the beautiful and the highly illustrious Vishwarupa. Hara had various forms. Tryamvaka, Aparājita, Vrishākapi, Shambhu, Kapardi, Revata, Mrigāvyādha, Sarpa, Kapali and Ekaka—were the forms by which the entire world, mobile and immobile, was overspread with hundreds and millions of Rudras (43—44).

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CHAPTER XIX.

Agni said :—I will now describe progeny of Kshyapa. O Muni, from Aditi and others the deities Tushitas of Chākshusa (Manwantara) were again begotten by Kashyapa on Aditi (1). They were born as the twelve Adityās in Vaivāswata Manwantara viz Vishnu, Shakra Twasta, Dhāta, Aryama, Pushā, Vivaswan, Savita, Mitra, Varuna, Bhaga and Ansu. The wives of Aristhanemi bore him sixteen children (2—3). The daughters of the learned Vahuputra were the four lightnings. The excellent Richas were the children of Angiras and the celestial weapons were the offspring of the Rishi Krishaswa (4). These appear and disappear age after age as the sun rises and sets.

Kashyapa begat on Diti (two sons) Hiranyakashipu and Hiranyāksha. She had also a daughter named Sinhikā who was married to Viprachitti. Rāhu and others were the children of Sinhikā (5—6).

Hiranyakashipu had four highly effulgent sons namely, Anuhrāda, Hrāda, Prahrāda, greatly devoted to Vishnu and Sanhrāda, the fourth. Hrādā's son was Hrada. Sanhrāda's sons were Ayushman, Sivi and Vashkala (7—8).

The son of Prahrâda was Virochana whose son was Bali, who had a hundred sons amongst whom Vâna was the eldest, O great Muni (9). Having propitiated Umâ's Lord in the previous Kalpa Vâna obtained a boon from the Iswara that he would always roam by his side (10).

Hiranyâksha had five sons namely Shamvara, Shakuni, Twsiti, Durmurdhâ and Shankara. Danu had a hundred sons (11). Swarbhânu had a daughter named Prabhâ. Pulomana's daughter was known as Sachi. Vrishaparvan's daughter Sarmisthâ had two daughters vis Upadânavi and Hayashirâ (12). Pulomâ and Kâlakâ were the two daughters of Vaishwânara. They were married to Kashyapa and gave birth to ten millions of sons (13). In Prahrâda's family were born four *Kotis* of Nivâtakavachas. Tamrâ had six sons named Suki, Sweni, Bhâsi, Sugrivi, Suchi and Gridhrikâ. They gave birth to crows and other birds. Horses, camels &c., were also the offspring of Tâmrâ. Aruna and Garuda were the sons of Vinatâ.

The thousand serpents were the offspring of Surasâ. Kadru also had a thousand children namely Sesha, Vâsuki, Takshaka and others. Animals having tusks were the offspring of Krodhas and acquatic fowls were the children of Dhara. Surabhi gave birth to cows and buffaloes and Irâ was the mother of all sorts of grass (14—17). Swadhâ gave birth to Yakshas and Rakshâs, Muni to Apsaras and Aristhâ to Gandharvas. These were the offspring of Kashyapa whether moveable or stationery (18).

Their children and grand children were innumerable. The Danavas were defeated by Devas. Having her children destroyed Diti propitiated Kashyapa, and prayed from him a son capable of destroying Indra and achieved her object. Indra seeking out her fault, [found out that one day] without washing her feet she fell asleep and [Indra] cut off the embryo. They became the deities Maruts and these forty-

nine highly effulgent celestials became the assistants of Shakra.*

Having installed the king Prithu over all these Hari and Brahma parcelled out soverignty unto others. The Lord Hari conferred the soverignty of Brahmanas and plants on the moon, that of water on Varuna. Vaishravana was the king riches, Vishnu the lord of Sun, Fire-god the king of Vasus, Vasava, the king of Maruts. Daksha became the king of Patriarchs and Pralhrāda of Danavas (19—24). Yama became the king of Pitris and Hara the Lord of goblins. Himavāna became the king of mountains and Samudra (ocean) the lord of rivers (25). Chitraratha became the king of Gandharvas, Vāsuki the king of Nagas,

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* The following account occurs in Vishnupuranam.

O best of ascetics, when there was a quarrel amongst the Gandharvas, serpents Danavas and gods, Diti, having lost all her children, propitiated Kasyapa. Being perfectly adored by her, Kasyapa, the foremost of the ascetics, promised her a boon and Diti prayed for it in the shape of a valiant son capable of destroying Indra. O excellent Muni, he granted his spouse that boon. And having granted her that boon Kasyapa said:—" You shall give birth to a son who shall destroy Sakra, if with pious thoughts and a pure body, you carry the babe in your womb for a hundred years." Having said this the ascetic Kasyapa remained with her and she conceived being perfectly pure. Knowing that this conception was for its own destruction, Indra the lord of immortals, came to her and attended upon her with humility. And the slayer of Paka wanted there to thwart her intention. At last in the last year of the century he found out an opportunity. Diti, without washing her feet, went to bed. And when she was asleep the wielder of the thunder-bolt entered into her womb and severed the embryo into seven pieces.

The child, thus severed, cried out bitterly in the womb but Sakra again and again said " Do not cry." The embryo was thus cut into seven portions, and Indra, wroth again, cut each portion into seven pieces with his thunder-bolt. From these originated the swift-coursing deities called Maruts (wind.) They got this name from the words with which Indra had addressed the embryo (Ma—rooda—do not cry) and became forty-nine divinities, the assistants of the wielder of the thunder bolt.

Takshaka the king of serpents and Garuda the king of birds (26). Airâvata became the king of elephants, bull the king of kine, tiger the king of animals, and Plaksha the king of trees (27). Uchaishrava became the king of horses. Sudhanwâ became the regent of the east, Shankapada that of the south, Ketuman of the north and Hiranyaromaka of the west. I have thus described the secondary creation (28).

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CHAPTER XX.

AGNI said:—The first creation of Brahman was Mahat (intellectual principle). The second was that of *Tanmâtras* (subtile particles) which is known as Bhuta* (1). The third was the *Vaikârika* creation known as *Aindriya*† or that of the instruments of sensation and action. This is *Prâkrita*‡ creation originating from the intellectual principle (2). And the main creation counts as the fourth and includes the immobile objects. By the name of *Tiryyaksrotas* is meant birds, beasts &c (3). The sixth creation is *Urddhasrotas* which is known as *Devasarga*. And the seventh is *Arovâkasrotas* which is man (4). The eigth is the creation of *Anugrahas*§ composed of *Sattwas* (goodness) and *Tamas* (passion). Five are the *Vaikrita*‖ acts of creation and three are *Prâkrita* (5). And they together

* Creation of elements.

† Relating to Indriya or organ of sense.

‡ From Prakriti or Nature.

§ An order of deities.

‖ Relating to the excited condit ion of any thing.

constitute *Vaikrita* and *Prâkrita*. And the ninth is Koumāra. These are the nine creations of Brahma, the radical causes of the universe (6).

Bhrigu and other sages married Kshyāti and other daughters of Daksha. People designate creation as three-fold, *Nitya*, *Naimittika* and *Dainandina*. That which takes place at the end of a minor dissolution is called *Dainandina*. The constant daily creation of beings is called Nitya (8).

Bhrigu begat Dhatā and Vidhāta on Kshyāti. Vishnu's wife was Shree who was requested by Sakra for multiplying progeny (9). Dhāta's and Vidhātā's sons were Prāna and Mrikanduka. Vedashirā bore Mrikanduka [a son named] Mārkandeya (10). Marichi begat on Sambhuti a son Pournamāsa. Angiras begat on Srmiti his sons Sinivāli, Kuhu, Rākā and Anumati. And by Atri Anasuya gave birth to Soma, Durvāsā and the Yogin Dattātreya. Pulastya's wife Preeti gave birth to a child named Dattoli. Pulaha begat on Kshamā Sahishnu and Karmapadika (11—13). The wife of Kratu Sannati brought forth the highly effulgent Bālakhilyas, sixty thousand in number, no bigger than a joint of the thumb in size (14). Vasishtha begat on Urja the seven sages, Raja, Gotrā, Urdhavāhuka, Savana, Alaghu, Sukra and Sutapā. Agni begat on Swāhā, Pāvaka, Pavamāna and Suchi. Agnishwattas and Varhishads the former being devoid and the latter possessed of fires* were the Pitris (departed manes). Swadhā had two daughters Mena and Vaidhārini.

Hinsā (envy) was the wife of Adharma (unrighteousness); her offspring was Anrita (untruthfulness) and a daughter Nikriti. From these camá forth Bhaya (fear) and Naraka (hell) and two daughters (Mayā) (illusion) and Vedanā (pain)

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* According to the commentator this distinction is derived from the Vedas. The first class or Agnishwattas consists of those householders who when alive, did not offer burnt sacrifices; the second of those who presented oblations with fire.

(16—18). Mâyâ's son was Mritya the allayer of the sufferings of creatures. And Vedanâ bore for Rourava a son named Duksha (misery) (19). And from Mritya (death) sprang Vyâdhi (disease), Jvarâ (decrepitude), Soka (sorrow), Trishnâ (thirst), and Krodhanger. While Brahmâ wept from his weeping sprang Rudra. The Grand-father called him Bhava, Sharva, Ishâna, Pashupati, Bhima, Ugra and Mahadeva (20—21). From Daksha's anger his wife Sati renounced her body; and born again as Himavan's daughter she became the spouse of Shambhu (22). I will now describe, as I have heard from Narâda, the method of worshipping, preceded by bathing and other rites, Vishnu and other gods that gives enjoyment and emancipation (23).

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CHAPTER XXI.

NARADA said :—I will now describe the ordinary form of Vishnu's worship as well as the Mantras (mystic formulæ) which grant all. [One should] worship [him by saying] salutation unto Achyuta* and his entire family (1). Salutation unto Dhâtâ (preserver), Vidhâta (creator), Gangâ Yamuna, ocean, the prosperity of Dwâra (Dwârakâ), Vâstu-deity, Sakti, Kurma (tortoise), Antaka, earth, religious knowledge, disassociation from the world, lordly powers, the Rik and other Vedas, Krita and other Yugas, Sattwa and other Gunas, the solar disc, the purifying and most excellent

* A name of Krishna—Literary—undecaying.

Jnāna and Karma Yoga* (2—4). Salutation unto joy, truthfulness, the various forms of Ishana's favoured seats, Durgā, speech, Ganas (goblins), Kshetra (field), Vāsudeva and others (5). Salutation unto heart, head, mace, coat of mail, eye, weapons, conch-shell, discus, club, lotus, Srivatsa (mystic mark on Kṛishna's breast) and Kaustava jem (6). He should then adore the garland of wild flowers, Sree (goddess of prosperity), Pushti, (nourishment), Garuda, preceptor, Indra, Agni, Yama, Raksha, water, air, and the lord of riches (7). [He should next adore] Ishana, his weapons, and his carriers bull and others. By worshipping Vishwaksena† first in the circular figure one acquires Siddhi (8).

This is the ordinary mode of worshipping Siva. One should first adore Nandi and then Mahākāla,‡ Ganga, Yamuna, the Ganas, the goddess of speech, the goddess of prosperity, the spiritual guide, the Vastudevata, the various Saktis,§ Dharma and other gods. Vāmā, Jyesthā, Roudri, Kāla-vikārini, Valavikarini, Valapramathini, Sarvabhutadamani Madanodmādini and Sivā [should then be worshipped in due order] (9—11). [Saying] Hām, Hum Hām salutation unto Siva form, he should adore Siva, his limbs and mouth. Houm salutation unto Siva, Ishāna and his other forms (12). Hrim Salutation unto Gouri; Gam, salutation unto Gana, Shakra, Chanda, heart &c. These are the mantrams in order

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* Yoga or union with the Supreme Being. The union can be effected by two-fold means—first by a true knowledge of the nature and being of Brahma or impersonal Self, which is called Jnana-Yoga, and Second by doing one's own duty and religious acts without any selfish motive which is called Karma-Yoga. This has been explained at length in the celebrated work Bhagavat-Gita.

† An epithet of Vishnu.

‡ Attendants of Siva.

§ Attending deities of the goddess Durga. These are enumerated as 8, 9 or even 50.

in the adoration of the sun. Then the tawny coloured Dandin should be adored (13). [He should then] adore Ucchaisrava and the greatly pure Aruna, the charioteer [of the sun] and then the highly blissful Skandha and others (14). Then Diptâ, Sukshanâ, Jaya, Bhadrâ, Bibhuti, Vimala these dreadful forms of lightning, which have their faces directed towards all, should be adored (15). Then with the mantram Ham, Khan, he should adore the seat of the sun, having the shape of the sky and fire-brands. [He should then say] Ham, Hrim, salutation unto the sun, salutation unto the heart (16). Salutation unto Arka (the rays of the sun) the lord of fires proceeding to the region of Asuras and air and having flames lighting up, earth, nether region and the sky, Ham. This is the amulet* (17). "Salutation unto the lustre, the eye and the weapons, Râjni, Shakti and Nishkalsha of the Sun. I will now describe in order and in brief the adoration of Soma, Angâraka, Budha, Jiva, Shukra, Shani, Râhu, Ketu and the effulgent Chanda. The worshipper should then adore the principal seat of the image, heart &c. (18—19). The mantram of the Vishnu seat of Vishnu form is "Hrim, Shrim, Shridhara, Hari". Hrim is the mantram for all the forms capable of enchanting the three worlds (20). Him, Hrishikesha,† Klim Vishnu. With long vowels [one should adore] heart &c. With these mantrams should be performed Panchami Pojâ‡ which gives victory in battle &c. (21). One should then adore in order his discus, club, conch-shell, mace, dagger, Srânga bow, noose, goad, (mystic mark) Srivatsa, (the jem) Koustava and garland of wild flowers (22). With the mantram Srim one should

* Some mystic words are written on a paper or bark and it is then put into an amulet. If it is carried by a person he or she always becomes successful.

† Literally one who has controlled his senses. An Epithet of Vishnu.

‡ An adoration offered on the fifth day after the full-moon.

adore the great gooddess of prosperity Sree, Garuda, the spiritual guide, Indra and other deities. With the mantram Aum and Hrim one should adore the form and seat of Saraswati (23). Then Hrit, Lakshmi, Medhā, Kalā, Tusti, Pushti, Gouri, Prabhāvati, Durgā, Gana, Guru and Kshetrapa should be worshipped (24). Then he should say, "Gam, salutation unto the Lord of Ganas, Hrim unto Gouri, Shrim unto Sri, Shrim unto Twarita, Sou unto Tripura" (25). All the mantrams should be preceded by *Pranava* (Om) added *Vindu* to it, either while offering adorations or performing Japa (26). Celebrating a Homa with sessamum seed and clarified butter he who reads these mantrams of adoration, yeilding religious profit, desire, worldly profit and salvation, repairs to heaven after having enjoyed all the objects of desire (27).

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CHAPTER XXII.

NARADA said :—I will now describe the mode of bathing [necessary before the performance of] any religious rite. Meditating on the man-lion form one should take up a clod of earth. And dividing it into two pieces he should with one bathe his mind (1). Immersing himself in water, rinsing his mouth, and arranging his hairs, he should, protected by the lion, perform the due rite of bathing preceeded by Prānayama* (2). Meditating on Hari in his heart with the mantram consisting of eight letters he should divide the

* A Yogic process of the suppression of vital breath.

clod of earth into three parts on his palm and then protect the quarters* reciting the name of the lion (3). Reciting the name of Vāsudeva, determining within himself about sacred water, rubbing his body with Vedic mantrams, adoring the image of the deity and putting on a pure cloth he should perform the rite. Putting water into hands with mantrams, dividing it into two parts, drawing air and controlling it with the name of Nārāyana he should pour the water. Afterwards meditating on Hari, offering Arghya† he should recite the mantram of twelve letters a hundred times beginning in order with the seat of yoga, for all the Regents of the quarters, Rishis, Pitris, men and all creatures and ending with the mobile and immobile creation. Then having assigned his limbs [to the various deities] and putting a stop to the recitation of the mantrams he should enter into the sacrificial room. In this way in the adoration of the other deities one should perform the bathing with the principal and other mantrams (4—8).

* This ceremony is necessary so that no impediment may approach the worshipper from any quarter.

† A respectable offering or oblation to a god or a venerable person.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

NARADA said:—I will now describe the mode of [offering] Pujā (adoration) by performing which Vipras attain all objects of life. Washing his head, rinsing his mouth and controlling his speech one should well protected sit in a Swastika, Padma* or any other posture, with his face directed towards the east. He should then meditate in the middle of his navel on the mantram *Yam* smoke coloured and identical with the terrific wind and purify all the impurities of the body. Then meditating on the mantram *Kshoum*, the ocean of light, situate in the lotus heart, he should, with flames going up, down and in contrary directions, burn down all impurities. He should then meditate on the mantram *Van* of the shape of the moon† situate in the sky. And then the intelligent worshipper should sprinkle his own body extending from the lotus heart with nectarine drops, through the tubulour organ Susumnā passing through the generative organ and other tubes (1—5).

Having purified the Tattwas (ingredients of worship) he should assign them. He should then purify his hand and the implements. First he should assign, beginning with the thumb of the right hand, the fingers of the two hands to the principal limbs. Then with sixty two mantrams he should assign the twelve limbs to the body namely heart, head, tuft of hair on head, skin, two eyes, belly, back, arms, thighs, knee-joints and feet. Then having offered *Mudrá* and

* These are the various Asasnas or postures in which a Yogin sits to practise his devotion. *Asana* is that in which he crosses his legs underneath him and lays hold of his feet on each side with his hands.

† The word in the text is *Shashanka* literally meaning *having a hare on the lap*. It is an epithet of the moon.

recited his name one hundred and eight times he should meditate on and adore Vishnu (6—8). Having placed a water-jar on his left and articles of worship on his right he should wash them with implements and then place flowers and scents (9). Having recited eight times the adorable light of Omnipresence and consciousness he should take up water in his palm with the mantram *phat* and then meditate on Hari (10). With his face directed towards the south-east direction presided over by Agni (Fire-God) he should pray for virtue, knowledge, disassociation from worldly objects and lordly powers; he should cast off his sins and physical impurities on the Yoga postures beginning with the East (11). In Kurma (tortoise) posture he should adore Ananta, Yama, the sun and other luminous bodies. Having first meditated on them in his heart, invoked them and adored them in the circle he should again place offerings, water for washing feet, water for rinsing mouth, and *Madhuparka** (12—13). Then by means of the knowledge of the art of worshipping the lotus-eyed deity (Vishnu) he should place water for bathing, cloth, sacred thread, ornaments, scents, flowers, incense, lamps and edibles (14).

He should first adore the limbs at the gate in the east and then Brahma. He should then assign the discus and club to the southern quarter and the conch-shell and bow to the corner presided over by the moon (15). He should then assign arrows and the quiver to the left and right side of the deity. He should assign leathern fence and prosperity to the left and nourishment to the right (16). With mantrams he should worship the garland of wild-flowers, the mystic mark Srivatsa and the Koustava jem and all the deities of

* A mixture of honey, a respectful offering made to a deity, a guest or the bride-groom on his arrival at the door of the father of the bride; its usual ingredients are five —

दधिसर्पिर्जलं क्षौद्रं सिता चैतैश्च पञ्चभिः । प्रोच्यते मधुपर्कः ।

the quarters in the outside—all these parapharnalia and attendants of Vishnu (17). Either partially or wholly he should recite the mantrams for adoring limbs, and adore them, circumambulate them and then offer offerings (18). He should meditate in his mind "I am Brahma, Hari" and should utter the word "come" in the ceremony of *Avâhana** (invocation) and the words *forgive me* in the rite of *Visarjana*† (19). Those who seek salvation should thus perform *Pujâ* (worship) with the mantram of eight letters. I have described the worship of one form. Hear, I will now describe that of nine Vyuhas (20).

He should assign Vāsudeva, Bala and others, first to his two thumbs and then severally to his head, fore-head, mouth, heart, navel, buttock, knees, head and afterwards worship them. He should then worship one *Pitha* (the seat of a deity) and nine *Vyuhas* or parts of the body. He should as before worship in nine lotuses the nine forms and the nine parts of the body. In the midst thereof he should adore Vāsudeva (21—23).

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CHAPTER XXIV.

NARADA said:—I will now describe the Agni or fire rites, by which one attains to all desired-for objects.

Measuring a piece of land, four times, twenty-four thumbs in length, with a thread, one should make a square pit. On all

* It is a religious rite of the Hindus by which they install life in the idol made for worship.

† A rite in which the life given is sent away and the idol is thrown away. These two peculiar religious rites distinctly show that the Hindus do not worship the idol but the spirit which they temporarily invoke in that idol.

sides of the pit, there should be left a space of two thumbs breadth as if making its girdle (1—2). One seat of twelve thumbs in length, and eight, two and four thumbs severally in extent should be made in the East (3). One beautiful seat of ten, six and four thumbs in extent and with a mouth, two thumbs in width and lowering gradually should be made in the west (4). It should be of the form of a leaf of the holy fig-tree and should enter a little into the pit. A drain, quarter of a thumb in breadth and fifteen thumbs in length, should then be dug. The base of the drain at the seat will be three thumbs and the fore part six.

I have thus described to you the pit of three *mekhalas* (altars). I will now describe the circular pit. A thread should be fixed in the pit and its remaining portion should be fixed on its side (5—7). Placing half of the rope in the pit and the other half on the side makes a whirling circle. One fares well by making this whirling crescent-shaped pit. After placing lotus petals and mekhalas in this circular pit one should make a sacrificial laddle of the size of an arm for performing Homa (8—10).

Then he should make a site, thirteen thumbs in length, and four in breadth. He should dig a pit on the space covering three fourths of this area and a make a beautiful circle in the middle (11). He should purify the space outside the pit to the extent of half a thumb and one fourth of a thumb, and with the remaining portion should reserve a boundary line all around. A space measuring half a thumb should be kept at the mouth. A beautiful space covering five thumbs should be kept in the middle. The ground on all sides should be level, and that in the middle should be a little lowered. The last pit should be beautifully made according to one's own desire (12—16).

The sacrificial ladle should have a handle, one hand in length. The circumference of the spoon attached to it should be two thumbs. Diving it a little into the mud one

should draw with it a line on the fire named *Vajra* (17—18). He should first draw a line beginning with the corner presided over by the moon, then two lines between it and the east and then three lines in the middle towards the South. Having thus drawn lines with the recitation of the mystic syllable *Om*, one, versed in mantras, should make the seat in which the power of Vishnu lies (19—20).

Having adorned the incarnate form of the fire and remembered Hari he should throw it. Then taking up sacrificial twigs measuring the span between the thumb and the fore-finger he should offer them (21). He should then spread three-fold Kuça grass in the east. He should then place *Shruk* (sacrificial ladle for pouring clarified bull) and *Sriva* (ladle) on the ground. He should then place vessels for keeping clarified butter, *charu** and the sacrificial grass Kuçā. And then taking up water with the vessel, he should fill up other vessels with it (22—23). Then sprinkling all the vessels with sacred water thrice he should place before the sacrificial fuel. Then filling up the vessel with clarified butter he should keep it there. Then shaking it with the wind of the breath he should perform the purificatory rite (24—26). He should take up two Kuças whose tips had not been cut off, each measuring the span between the thumb and the fore-finger, with the thumb and the nameless finger of the right hand. He should take up with it clarified butter twice and cast it thrice. And again taking up with them the sacrificial ladles he should sprinkle them with water (27—28). Having rubbed them with the Kuça reeds and washing them again the worshipper should place them reciting the mystic syllable *Om* (29). He should afterwards perform the Homa ceremony with *mantrams* each ending with *Om*. He should perform the prescribed portions of Garbhādhāna and other rites (30). He should perform duly all the *Vratas* (vows)

* A sacrificial food by partaking of which one gains his object.

and *Adhikaras*. A worshipper should consecrate all the ingredients by reciting the mystic syllable *Om*. A Homa ceremony should be performed proportionate to the means of an individual (31). First should be performed Garbhâdhâna,*a* then Punsavana,*b* then Shimantonnayana,*c* then Jatakarma,*d* then Nama*e* and then Annaprasana*f*, then Chudâkarana,*g* then Vratavandha*h* and then numberless other Vedic Vratas (vows). A qualified person should perform all these rites in in the company of his wife (32—34). Meditating on the deity in the heart and other parts, worshipping him he should offer sixty four oblations (35). The worshipper should then offer the full oblation with the sacrificial ladle, filling it up (with clarified butter) and reciting sweetly along with it the mantram with the word *Bhoushat* (36). Having purified the fire of Vishnu he should boil the Charu (food) belonging to Vishnu. Having worshipped Vishnu in the altar and remembering the mantrams he should boil it (37). Having worshipped in order with sweet-scented flowers his seat, bed etc, as well as the ornaments for the various limbs he should meditate on that most excellent of all the deities (38). Then oblations of clarified butter should be poured in order to fires placed in the north-east and north-west corners (39). Then having poured portions of clarified butter

a One of the Samskaras or purificatory ceremonies performed after menstruration to ensure or facilitate conception. This ceremony legalizes in a religious sense the consummation of marriage.

b It is a ceremony performed on a woman's perceiving the first signs of a living conception with a view to the birth of a son.

c 'Parting of the hair' one of the twelve Samskaras or purificatory rites observed by women in the fourth, sixth or eigth month of their pregnancy.

d Ceremony performed on the birth of a son.

e Ceremony of giving name to the child.

f A ceremony performed when the child first tastes rice.

g The ceremony of tonsure.

h Investiture with sacred thread.

in the south and the north he should perform the ceremony of Homa in the middle reciting in order all the mantrams (40). In the Homa of endless limbs (parts) he should offer oblations of clarified butter to the ten forms of the deity with hundreds or thousands of sacrificial grass, sacrificial fuel and sessamum seeds (41). Having thus performed the Homa ceremony he should invite his disciples to place before the beasts of sacrifice fed by them and sacrifice them with weapons (42).

Having united the disciples with his own self with the fetters of *Avidya* (ignorance) and Karma he should adore the Lingam to which is bound consciousness (43). Perceiving its true essence by *dhyâna* (meditation) he should purify it with *Vayu* mantrams. He should then adore the creation of Brahmanda (universe) with Agni mantrams (44). He should then meditate on all articles reduced into ashes on the pit. He should then sprinkle the ashes with water and meditate on *Samsara* (world) (45). He should then assign creative power to the seed of the earth enveloped with *Tanmatras* or subtle elementary particles (46). He should then meditate on the egg arising therefrom, its container and identical with itself. He should then meditate within the egg on the form of the Purusha identical with Pranava (Om) (47). He should then attach the creative organ, situate within self, purified before. He should then meditate on the various senses (48). He should then divide the egg into two parts and place them in the sky and earth. And between them he should meditate on Prajapati (The Creator) (49). Meditating on his being born and supported by Pranava and making his form identical with mantras he should perform the Nyāsa rite (assignment of limbs to various deities) as described before (50). Meditating on the hands and head of Vishnu he should realize by Dhyana (spiritual meditation) that one is multiplied into many (51). Taking their fingers and tying them to their eyes with a

piece of cloth a mantrin should sprinkle them with sacred water (52). After having made the *Pujá* the preceptor, perfectly knowing the true nature of the god of gods, should make his disciples sit with their faces directed towards the west and their palms folded and filled with flowers (53). Instructed by their preceptor they should adore Hari after offering there handfuls of flowers (54). Having thus offered adorations without reciting any mantrams they should salute the feet of their preceptor; and afterwards they should offer him the Dakshina or fee, if possible the half of their worldly possessions (55). The preceptor should instruct the disciples and they should worship Hari by reciting his names, namely Vishwaksena, the lord of sacrifices and the holder of conch, discus and club (56). They should then place offerings with their fore-fingers to the circular altar, and dedicate to Vishwaksena the entire remnant of the offerings made unto Vishnu. Then bowing low they should sprinkle with water their own persons. And placing on their body the fire of the pit they should dedicate it to Vishwaksena, saying "May the hungry attain all and disappear in Hari (57—59)."

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CHAPTER XXV.

NARADA said:—I will now describe the marks of the adorable mantrams for worshipping all other members of his family, namely Vásudeva, Sangkarshana Pradyumna and Aniruddha (1). Salutation unto the Lord, a, á, am, as, om, salutation unto Narayana (2). Om, salutation unto eternal Brahma, Om salutation unto Vishnu. Om, Kshoum, Om,

salutation unto the Lord Narasimha* (3). Om bhur salutation unto the Lord Barâha.† He should then form the limbs of the mantram *Swar*, each duly ending in order with the syallable swar, the nine Nayakas, the kings, red like Java flowers, green-hued, red-blue, crimson coloured, bright like lightning and twany like honey (4—5). He should imagine heart and other parts divided according to the Tantras. The characteristics of Vyanjana and other mantrams are different (6). They are divided by long vowels ending with and interpersed with *Namas.* The principal and minor parts are composed of short vowels (7). Letters are divided in this most excellent mantram and the principal and minor limbs are composed gradually of long and short bowels (8). The consonants are used in order each ending with the mantram *Swa* in various divisions (9). Having made proper assignment a Siddha should recite these mantrams (10). With the twelve ramfiications of the principal mantram he should adore the heart, the head-gear, coat of mail, eyes, weapons and six limbs of Vishnu (11). He should then make, in order, assignment to the heart, head, tuft of hair, weapon, [eye, belly, back, arm, thigh, knee-joint, cheeks, and feet of the deity (13).

Kam, tam, pam, Sham, salutation to Vinata's son (Garuda); Kham, tham, pham, Sham, salutation to the club. Gam, dam, Vam, Sam is the mantram for securing health; Gham, dham, bham and Ham, salutation to Shree.

Vam, Sham, Man, Kham [is the mantram for adoring his conch-shell] Panchajanya.‡ Chham, tam, pam is the

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* The man-lion form of Víshnu, one of his incarnations in which he killed the giant Hiranya-Kasipu.

† The boar-form of Vishnu in which he raised up the earth from water after deluge.

‡ Krishna obtained this conchshell after destroying a demon who had assumed this form, for regaining the son of a Brahmana from his clutches.

mantram for the kaustava jem. Jam, Kham, Vam for Sudarshana (discus). Sam, Vam, Dam, Cham, Lam for his mystic mark Srivatsa. (14).

Om, Dham, Van for his garland of wild flowers. And Om is for the great Ananta. With these various letters various forms of the mantra should be made (15). The caste and name of the person should be added in the mantram for adoring the heart. And Pranava should be added to each mantram which should be recited five times (16). With Om one should adore the heart, head and the tuft of hair of the great Purusha, and adding his own name should adore the coat of mail and the weapon (17). He should say "Om salutation unto Antaka." This mantram consists of one to twenty six parts (18). Then with the tips of the little and other fingers he should adore Prakriti on his body saying "Prakriti is the second form of the great Purusha" (19). Om salutation unto the great Purusha. The air and the sun are his two forms. Fire is the third form. He should assign those with his fingers to his body (20). He should assign the air and the sun in the fingers of the left hand. He should assign the various forms and limbs of the deity in the head (21). He should assign the extensive Rik Veda to his hand and the Yayus to his fingers and the two Atharvans to his two lotus palms (22). As before he should assign the extensive sky to his finger and body and the air and others to his fingers, head, heart, organ of excretion and feet (23). Air, fire, water, earth [with sky or ether] are called five elements. Mind, ears, skin, tongue and nose are the five organs of sense (24). One should assign the endless mind beginning with the thumb in order to head, mouth, heart, organ of excretion and organ of generation (25). The prime form in the shape of Jiva (sentiency) permeates all and everywhere. Earth, sky, heaven, the principle of greatness, asceticism, truth should be assigned duly in the body and fingers beginning with the thumb. The lord of the world, first assigned

to the palm, should be gradually taken to the body, head, forehead, face, heart, organ of excretion and crown of the head. This is Agnisthoma rite. Next follows the sacrifice Vajapeyaka of sixteen limbs (26—28). In this Atirātra and Aptoyāma are the two optional parts. The soul of the sacrifice has seven forms. Intellect, egoism, mind, sound, touch, form, taste, smell, understanding should be duly assigned to the fingers and the body. He should assign teeth, and palms, to head, forehead, mouth, heart navel, organ of excretion and two feet. These are called eight *vyuhas* or limbs. A person should assign sentiency, identical with individual soul, intellect, egoism, mouth, sound, quality, air, form and taste to the two thumbs. He should gradually transfer them to the left hand through the fore and other fingers (29-32). Indra exists covering the ten parts of the body, head, forehead, mouth, heart, navel, organ of excretion, two knee-joints and two feet (33). He should assign fire between the two thumbs. Assignment should also be made with the fore and other fingers. Mind, identical with eleven organs, ear, skin, eye, tongue, smell, speech, hand, crown of the head, anus, should be assigned to head, forehead, mouth, heart, navel, buttock and the two knees (34—35). Male organ, mind and ears should be assigned to the two thumbs. Additional assignment should be made to the two thumbs by eight fingers (36). Head, forehead, mouth, heart, navel should be assigned to anus, two thighs, shanks, ankles and feet (37).

Vishnu, Madhuhara, Vamana (dwarf) of three footsteps, Sridhara, Hrishikesha, Padmanabha, Damodara, Keshava, Narayana, Madhava and Govinda are the names of Vishnu. He should be invoked everywhere. The thumb, and other fingers, two palms, two feet, two knees, waist, head should be assigned to head, crown of the head, waist and knees and feet (38—40). There are severally twelve, twenty-five and twenty-six parts—Purusha, intellect, egoism, mind, heart, touch, taste,

form, smell, ears, skin, eye, tongue, nose, speech, hand, head, anus, male organ, earth, water, fire, air, sky. The *Purusha* has all these in hairs—he should be invoked in the ten fingers, thumb and others (41—43). Having assigned the remnant in the palm, head or forehead he should assign mouth, heart, navel, buttock, thighs, knee-joints in order to feet, knees, male organ, heart and head. Meditating on the great Purusha in all these twenty-six a wise man should adore Prakriti in the circular altar.

In the first part of the day he should worship heart &c. in the corner presided over by the moon. As before he should adore (Vishnu's) weapons and (his carrier) Vinata's son in the quarter presided over by fire (N. E.) He should adore the guardian deities of the quarters in the middle of the fire (44—47). A man, having kingdom &c., should adore them by placing his middle fingers to the navel and having his mind fixed on the lotus (48). For conquering kingdoms, and for the preservation of all he should adore the universal form of Vishnu with all the parts and five limbs. (49). One should celebrate the sacrifice of Vishwaksena, having adored first Garuda and Indra. He will obtain all desired-for objects. The mantram is that of the ether *i.e. Byoma mantram* (50).

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CHAPTER XXVI.

NARADA said:—I will now describe *Mudra** which brings the worshipper nearer to the object of his worship. The first is called *Anjali* or the folding of palms. The

* *Certain positions of the fingers practised in devotion or religious worship.*

second is called *Vandani* (fingers interweaved) to be placed on the heart (2). Fold the left palm keeping the thumb erect. Then interweave it with the thumb of the right palm. These are the three ordinary Mudras.

Besides these there are some other extraordinarny Mudras. By the interweaving of the smallest and other fingers eight more positions are formed in order (2—3). The first eight mantrams should be recited. With the thumb he should bend low the youngest finger, the ring finger and the middle finger. Raising up the hand before his eyes the worshipper should recite the nine mantrams. Having thus raised up the left hand he should slowly lower it down (4—5). These are the Mudras of the various limbs of Varāha (Boar). Having folded the left hand into a fist he should gradually release the fingers. He should lower a little the fingers of the right hand. Then the left hand should be folded into a fist with the thumb up. This brings on the success of Mudrā (6—7).

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CHAPTER XXVII.

NARADA said :—I will now describe *Dikshâ* (initiation ceremony) that grants all objects of desire. The worshipper should adore Hari in the circle of a lotus. Having collected all the articles of sacrifice on the tenth day of a lunar fort-night, assigned and consecrated them with mantrams, reciting them a hundred times, designed for worshipping the man-lion form of Vishnu, he should scatter on all sides sessamum seeds, destructive of demons, reciting the mantram ending with the syllable Phat (1—2). He should assign

there *Sakti** identical with all, in the form of grace. He should next collect all the herbs and spread them with mantrams (3). A worshipper should consecrate a hundred times in pure vessels the Panchagavya† by the mantrams which are used in worshipping the five principal forms of Vāsudeva (4). With the mantram ending with the word Nārāyana he should scatter them on earth thrice with the tips of a Kuça grass held by his right hand. Then seated with his face directed towards the east he should meditate on Vishnu in his heart. He should adore Vishnu with all his paraphernalia in the jar and *Vardhani* (a water jar) (5—6). He should consecrate the *Vardhani* by reciting the *astra* mantram for a hundred times. And sprinkling it with a continous downpour of water he should take it to the north-east quarter (7). Taking the jar on his back he should place it on the scattered sessamum seeds. Then collecting them with Kuça reeds he should adore the presiding god of the jar and Karkari (a water-jar with small holes at the bottom) (8). He should then adore Hari, clad in a raiment and adorned with five jewels, in the sacrificial altar, offering oblations to fire in his honor and reciting [proper] mantrams for his adoration, as before (9). Touching him with a lotus and annointing his person with fragrant ungoents the worshipper should fill up the boiling vessel with clarified butter and cow's milk (10). Then seen by Vāsudeva and Sangkarshana he should throw rice mixed with clarified butter

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* The active power of a deity regarded as his wife. In the Hindu system of worship every deity is worshipped along with his consort. No worship is complete unless this active energy in the shape of a female deity is adored. But Sakti, in Hindu mythology, popularly and generally refers to Durga the consort of Siva.

† The five products of the cow taken collectively *i. e.* milk, curd, clarified butter or ghee, urine and cow dung. All these are regarded as sacred articles of paramount and essential importance for worshipping a deity.

into the well-purified milk (11). Meditating on Pradyumna the worshipper should stir it slowly with a Kuça reed and thinking of Aniruddha he should put down the boiled food (12). Then washing his face and hands, besmearing it (with sandal) he should put the sectarial mark with ashes on his forehead and then place the beautifully prepared and purified *charu* by the side of Nārāyana (13). He should dedicate one portion of it to the deties, the second to the jar and with the third portion he should offer three oblations (14). He should offer the fourth part to his pure-souled preceptor along with all his disciples. Having consecrated the tree of milk seven times with Nārāyana mantrams, used a peice of wood thereof for cleaning the teeth, been conscious of his sins, offered oblations to the hundred auspicious and most excellent lions, lying in the north and north east quarters belonging to Indra and Agni, rinsed his mouth and entered the temple of worship the mantrin should circumambulate Vishnu with the recitation of mantrams (15—17).

Thou art, O lord, alone the refuge of the beasts, sunk in the ocean of the world, for being released of the fetters. Thou art always fond of thy votaries. Thou dost always forgive the celestials fettered by Prakriti with her noose. By thy grace I shall release these beasts bound with a noose (18—19).

Having made this declaration to the Lord of the celestials he should allow the beasts to enter (that temple). Having purified them according to the rules mentioned before and consecrated them with fire he should close their eyes. Mentioning the name of the deity he should pour handfuls of flowers there (20—21). He should then duly perform the rite of recitation and worship. He should mention the name of the idol on which flowers fall (22). He should then take up a red thread spun well by a maiden and measure it six times from the tuft of the hair to the toe and again multiply it three times (23). He should then

meditate on Prakriti as being present there, in whom the universe lies, and from whom the universe is born and who appears as manifold by her various actions (24). Having thus made nooses of Prakriti proportionate to the number of beasts he should place that thread on an earthen tray by the side of the pit (25). Thereupon having meditated on all the Tattwas,* beginning in order of creation from Prakriti to the earth the worshipper should assign them to the body of his disciple (26). All these are known by persons, devoting their thought to the ascertainment of the nature of principles, and are severally divided as one, five fold, ten-fold and twelve-fold† (27). With five organs of action the entire universe is created. Having drawn all the Tanmatras (subtile particles) with self he should place the Mâyâ (illusion) rope on the body of the beast (28). Prakriti is the creative power—the agent is *Buddhi* (intellect) or *Manas* (mind). The five Tanmatras originate from Buddhi and the five elements from the organ of action (29). He should meditate on these twelve principles in the rope and body according to his desire. With the residue of offerings he should offer oblations to the work of Creation carried on in grades (30). Celebrating one by one a hundred Homas he should offer the most perfect oblation. Then covering the earthen tray he should dedicate it to the presiding god of the jar (31).

Having duly performed the *adhivdsa*‡ ceremony he should initiate his devoted disciple. Having placed in an [open]

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* See note on p 79.

† The first one division is Prakriti. The five divisions are Tanmatras or five subtile particles ; the ten divisions are the five instruments of sensation and the five instruments of action ; with Prakriti and mind added to these ten the twelve parts are made up.

‡ Preliminary rite of consecrating an idol before it is placed or a pupil before he is initiated.

place where the wind blows *Karani** and a *Kartari*† made either of silver or iron as well as other necessary ingredients and touched them with the principal mantram he should perform the *Adhivâsa* ceremony (32—33). [He should then recite] "salutation I offer this food to the goblins." Then he should meditate on Hari as lying on the sacrificial grass. He should next adorn the sacrificial yard by spreading over it jars of sweet meats (34). He should perform a sacrifice in honor of Vishnu in that circular altar; and then pouring oblations to the fire he should initiate his disciples seated in Padma postures (55). Sprinkling water on Vishnu with his hand and touching gradually his head he should meditate on Prakriti and all her transformations as well as on all the presiding deities present there (36). Bringing the creation in his mind he should gradually transfer it to his heart. He should then meditate on all transformed into Tanmatras and on all identical with Jiva (or sentiency) (37). Thereupon having offered prayers to the presiding deity of the jar and drawing the thread the worshipper should approach the fire and place it on its side (38). He should offer a hundred oblations with the principal mantram to the presiding god of the creation present there and then offer the most perfect oblation (39). He should then collect white dust and consecrate it a hundred times with the principal mantram. He should then throw it on his heart reciting the mantram terminated by *Hum* and *phat* (40). Then gradually with mantrams formed by subtracting syllables he should offer oblations to earth and other Tattwas (41). He should gradually transfer all the Tattwas, fire &c to their abode Hari; and the learned worshipper should then think of the sacrifice (42). He should subtract the Tattwas and then attain quietitude. He should then

* An arrow of a particular shape.

† A knife.

offer oblation to the fire. Offering eight oblations each in favour of Garbhâdhâna, Jâtakarma, Bhoga (enjoyment) and dissolution, he should offer one to Suddhi or purification. Taking up pure ingredients he should offer the most perfect oblation. And gradually he should offer oblations to other Tattwas. Afterwards by Jnâna Yoga he should immerse Jiva, freed of worldly fetters, in the Eternal Paramâtman (43—46). The learned man should think of the spirit of disassociation in the Ever blissful pure and intelligent (Atman). Afterwards he should offer the Purnâ (or most perfect) oblation in honor of the deity and finish the rite of Dikshâ or initiation (47).

I will now describe the Prayoga (working) mantrams associating the rite of Dikshâ with Homa.

Om, yam, goblins, the pure Hum, phat. By this one should strike and separate the two.

Om, yam, I destroy the goblins. Hear how this should be united with Prakriti after having accepted it.

Om, Yam, Bhutani Punscha: I will now relate the mantrams of Homa* and those of Purnâhuti† (48—49).

Om Swâha destroy these goblins.

Om, am, om, Namas (salutation) unto the Lord Vâsudeva Boushat.

After offering the Purnâhti he should make his disciples do the same. Then the learned worshipper should purify all the Tattwas in due order with the mantram Swa preceded by Tavana and ended by Namas.

Om Vâm the organs of action. Om dem the organs of intellect &c.

Om sum Tanmatra of smell. Om sum sum Prakriti. Om sum sum destroy all Swâha.

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* The ceremony of offering oblations to the fire.

† The final and most consummate offering to the fire.

Then Purnāhuti should be offered in the northern direction.

Om Ram, the Tanmatra, the subtle element of taste.

Om Bhen the Tanmatra of form. Om Ram the Tanmatra of touch. Om am the Tanmatra of sound. Om bham Namas. Om som egoism. Om nam intellect. Om om Prakriti.

I have thus described the Dikshā ceremony of the deity of one form and also described the dedication to nine Vyuhas.

Having consumed all a man should consign Prakriti to Nirvana, and he should then consign Prakriti to the Ishwara shorn of changes (50—53).

Having purified the elements he should purify the instruments of action, intellect, Tanmatras, mind, knowledge and egoism (54). Having next purified the gross body and the soul he should again purify Prakriti. The pure Prakriti and Purusha are stationed in Iswara (55). A person, qualified to understand the principles, should meditate on the deity, after Purnahuti and initiate his disciples whom he had known well and who had been freed from the bonds of Bhoga (endless law of retribution) (56). Having meditated on the deity with his limbs and mantrams he should gradually purify equally all the Tattwas. Having thus meditated on the deity endued with all lordly powers he should offer the *Purnáhuti*. This is the initiation ceremony of the worshipper. In this there is no necessity of any article or property which is not within his means (57—58).

Having worshipped the deity as before with all the ingredients the foremost of votaries should initiate the disciple on the twelfth day from that of the *adhivása* ceremony (59). The disciple must be devoted, humble, endued with all the physical accomplishments and not very rich. Having worshipped the deity in the altar he should initiate such a disciple (60). The spiritual guide should meditate

in the person of the disciple on the entire host of gods and all the elements spiritualized in order of the creation (61). He, desirous of creation, should offer, in honour of Vâsudeva and other agents of procreation, each sixteen oblations accompanied with mantrans beginning in due order from the commencement (62). Having released all the fetters of Karma which bind one to births the spiritual guide should purify them with Homa by the destructive Yoga (63). Having withdrawn them gradually from the body of his disciple the spiritual guide should purify all the Tattwas immersing them in Agni, Prakriti, Vishnu and other deities (64). With Purnâhuti he should purify the impure principles. After the disciple had attained his natural state of mind he should consume all the qualities of Prakriti (65). As necessary or qualified to do he should either free or bind the beasts. Or in their absence the preceptor should perform the *Sakti diksha* (66). Having worshipped with reverence all the ascetics endued with spiritual powers he should place his son by Vishnu in the altar (67). The disciple should sit with his face towards the deity. And the spiritual guide should sit with face directed askance. He should then meditate on all the sacrifices, instituted along with those performed on the changes of the moon (68). He should by Dhyâna meditate on the deity in the person of his disciple and touch it as before (69). He should then gradually purify all the Tattwas on the altar of Hari. And he, engaged in the enquiry into self, should touch it, take it and set it aside (70). He should gradually, according to their nature, purify them and unite them with the deity. And then he should collect them with a purified mind (71). He should by Jnâna *mudrà* and *dhyâna* yoga purify them. When all the Tattwas are thus purified he should place them in the Great Iswara (72). Having burnt them he should extinguish the fire and engage his disciples in the service of the Lord. Then the foremost of spiritual guides should conduct the

worshipper in the road of Siddhi (73). Having thus performed vigilantly all the rites a house-holder becomes a qualified person. He should so long purify his own self as long as his anger is not dissipated (74). Knowing himself shorn of anger and freed from sins a self-controlled person should confer the previlege of a qualified person either on his own son or his disciple (75). Having burnt the noose of cosmic illusion, and stationed himself in self he should, in his unmanifest form, wait for the destruction of his body (76).

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

NARADA said:—I will now describe the Abhisheka ceremony of the preceptor and his son by which a worshipper attains *siddhi* and a diseased man becomes freed from diseases (1). A king obtains kingdom and a woman acquires a son freed from sins. He should assign jars containing jems in the middle and east. He should place in rows a thousand or a hundred of them in the circular altar under the canopy in the east of Vishnu (2—3). Having placed them all he should assign his son in parts to all. He should then perform the Abhisheka ceremony. Men should there offer Yoga and other Pitakas (altars) for receiving favours. The preceptor should announce the conditions and a disciple, initiated into secrets; he acquires all that he wants (4—5).

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CHAPTER XXIX.

NARADA said:—Having worshipped the Lord Hari on a circular altar erected on a purified ground in the room a worshipper should practise mantrams in the temple (1). On a square piece of ground he should draw a circle and should write the word *bhadra* (auspiciousness) in all the minor compartments (2). Thirty six compartments should be made outside. Two rows should be made and two doors on two sides (3). He should make a lotus-like circle in the exterior, and should make twelve parts in the half of the lotus (4). Having thus divided it he should make four circles, one around the other. The first is the ground of pericarp the second is that of filaments, the third is that of petals and the fourth is that of the tips of petals. He should join the points of the triangle with a thread (5—6). Having connected with it the filaments and the petals he should draw eight petals (7). Then the interstices between the petals should be drawn inside the figure. Then the tops of the petals should be drawn one after another. They should be again drawn on sides and on the exterior. Then filaments should be drawn between two petals (8—9). This is the ordinary lotus circle of sixty two petals. Then in proper measure the pericarps, in halves, should be drawn in the east in due order (10). By its side six Kundalis should be drawn in circles. Thus twelve fishes should be drawn in the lotus of sixty two petals (11). For attaining success in the rite one should draw the figure of an unbroken fish with five petals. The line of sky (Vyomarekhâ) should be drawn outside the Pitha (altar); and then he should sweep clean the compartments (12). Two and two other figures, for the feet, should be drawn in the three corners. The bodies

should extend on all the four sides (13). Then the fins should be drawn in the directions for forming the row. Doors should be made in all the four directions (14). One the sides of the doors an expert man should draw eight graceful expressions; and by them graceful expressions should be drawn (15). Then corners of minor ornaments should be made. In the middle compartment two figures each should be drawn in four directions (16). On the four external sides figures should be made with clay. For beautifying it three figures should be drawn on each side of the petal (17). Similarly in the contrary direction minor ornaments should be drawn, three in number, without any gap in and outside the cone (18). Thus the sixteen compartments are formed and thus the other circle is formed. In the sixty-second division a row of thirty-six petals should be drawn in the lotus (19). One fin should be drawn at each door for beautifying it. In the circular altar of one cubit a lotus should be drawn with twelve fingers (20). With the thumb the door should be drawn one cubit in area. Then four altars should be made; the circular lotus should be two fingers in circumference (21). The half of the lotus should be drawn with nine fingers, the navel with three, the doors with eight and the circumference with four (22). Having divided the ground into three parts he should draw the inside with two fingers. Then for accomplishing his object he should write the five short vowels and draw the radii (23). Then according to his own desire he should either draw lotus petals, or citron leaves or the leaves of the lotus (24). The outer circumference should be drawn from the root of the radius (25). He should roll the middle *Arani* (fire-producing stick) in the interstice between the radii and at all the intervening spaces citron leaves of equal dimensions should be drawn (26).

Then the ground should be divided into seven parts, each of them measuring equally fourteen fingers. Then two

hundred and ninety six apartments should be drawn. The word *bhadra* (auspiciousness) should be written there. They should be encircled with rows on which the names of the quarters should be written (27—28). Again on all these rows figures of lotuses should be drawn. Then in the middle compartment necks should be drawn in all the quarters (29). Four figures should be drawn outside, and after it three in each row, one after the other. Then an ornament should be drawn by the side of each neck (30). He should sprinkle thrice with water the seven extremities of the external cone. Thus is formed the circular altar of seven divisions where Hari should be worshipped (31). This is the circular altar of twenty five *vhyuhas* where the universal form of Vishnu is worshipped. Thirty two cubits of ground should be equally measured by a votary with his hand (32). Thus within sixteen (principal) compartments one thousand and twenty four minor ones are formed (33). Having written *bhadra* and sprinkling water to the fire he should write eight *bhadrakar* with six compartments in all the quarters. Then sprinkling the fins and the sixteen *bhadrakar*, with water he should draw other fins on all sides 34—35). He should then draw the twelve doors, three in each quarter, six at the outside, and four severally in the end, middle and all sides (36). He should draw, for beautifying the figure, four doors, two outside and two inside. And three minor doors should be drawn in the extremeties and five outside (37). Then he should as before make ornamental drawings, seven in the external cones and three in the end (38).

He should worship Para Brahma in the auspicious twenty-five Vyhuas. Then gradually in the lotus drawn in the middle beginning with the east he should worship Vâsudeva and other deities (39). Having worshipped the Boar form of Vishnu in the first lotus he should adore the Vyuahas till the worship of the twenty-six is finished (40). In the lotus he should adore all the Vyubas with great care. He should then regard

Pracheta in the shape of the sacrifice (41). He should regard Achyuta as divided into many forms such as truth etc. He should then portion out the ground of forty fingers (42). He should first divide it into seven, then again into two, then into four, six, seven, hundred and thousand (43). The *bhadra* of the compartments should be encircled with sixteen of them. Then rows should be drawn on the sides along with the *bhadras* (44). Sixteen figures of lotuses should be drawn, then twenty four lotuses for rows and thirty two lotuses for fins (45). Then with forty rows and three fins the principal and minor ornaments of the doors should be drawn in all the directions (46). Two, four or six doors should be drawn in all the directions; either five or three should be drawn outside for ornamenting them (47). Either on the sides or in the end of the doors six figures should be drawn; four being in the middle. And six minor ornamental figures should be drawn there (48). All should be collected in one side and there should be four sacrificial ladles (49). In every side there should be three doors. Five rows should be drawn severally in the five corners. There should be eight compartments of the auspicious circular altar (50).

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CHAPTER XXX.

NARADA said:—One should adore the lotus-navelled Brahmā, with all his limbs, in the middle lotus. In the lotus in the north-east corner he should adore Prakriti and Purusha in the lotus in the north (1). In the south of the Purusha fire-god should be worshipped and the wind-god in the south-east quarter presided over by Varuna. The sun should be

certain that an *Aryya* will never become an *Anaryya* even if he loses his life.*

44. All his subjects take up arms for a virtuous prince when he is assailed.† A virtuous sovereign is invincible owing to his love of his subjects, and to his purity of nature.‡

45. Peace should be made with an *Anaryya*,§ for, even he, meeting an enemy,‖ eradicates him like the son of *Renuka*.¶

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* That is, even if an honourable and high-born, person has to lose his life he will not change his nature and be vile like an *Anaryya* or dishonest fellow. S. W. Jones's translation is this :—

"He who keeps *truth* inviolate will not alter his nature after a peace, even if he loses his life. A good man most assuredly will not become bad."

† And when he is thus supported by his subjects, the assailant has no chance of vanquishing him ; on the other hand, it is not unlikely that the latter's troops will rebel against him for his trying to annoy a virtuous and beloved monarch.

‡ A virtuous prince naturally cherishes his subjects like his own children. So, they become very loyal to him and look upon him as their father, and do not hesitate to sacrifice their life and property for his sake ; such a prince, so dearly loved by his people, is incapable of suffering defeat. *Dukhochchedyas* lit. means 'he who is extirpated with difficulty.' *Prajanuragat* may have another meaning, viz., through the loyalty of his subjects. S. W. Jones's translation is as follows. "For a just man, all the world fights. A just prince prevents calamity by love of his subjects, and of virtue."

§ Vide *Supra*, note to Sloka 43. It may mean here a bad man.

‖ The commentary introduces a change in reading by substituting *Sa durna prapya* for *Sampadaya*. The change we have accepted.

¶ *Renuka* is the wife of the sage Jamadagni the mother of Parasurama, a celebrated Brahmana-warrior regarded to be the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. The allusion referred to here is this. King *Kartaviryya* went to the hermitage of his father and carried off his cow. But Parasurama when he returned home, fought with the king and killed the latter. When the king's sons heard of the fate that had overtaken their sire, they became very angry and repairing to the hermitage and finding Jamadagni alone, they shot him dead. When Parasurama, who was not then at home, returned, he became very much exasperated and

destroying the Kshatriyas.*

46. Just as a thick cluster of bamboos† surrounded on all sides by thorny plants, cannot be easily eradicated, so a king, supported by his many brothers, cannot be easily subdued.‡

47. When a king, ever so vigilant and assiduous,§ is assaulted by a sovereign stronger than himself, there is no

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made the dreadful vow of exterminating the Kshatriya race. He succeeded in fulfilling his vow, and is said to have 'rid the earth thrice seven times of the royal race.'

* We can not help remarking here that this Sloka is not very definite about the idea it professes to convey. The example given seems to be out-of-place ; the reasons furnished are not cogent. However we must take it as it is. The meaning seems to be this :—A king should not hate the aborigines of a land but should be in friendly terms with them ; for there may come times when he will profit by such alliance. To cite an example from the Rámáyana, Rámachandra was saved from many dangers through his friendship with the Chandála *Guhaka,* who belonged to the vilest and most abominable caste existing in India. S. W. Jones's translation of the passage is as follows : "Peace should be made even with a bad man, when ruin is impending ; not for the sake of his protection, but from consideration of time."

† *Venu* may also mean 'reeds.'

‡ The last portion of the Sloka has been rendered a little freely. It is superflous to comment that when the several royal brothers live in amity and when there are love and respect binding them to one another, there is scarcely any chance for a foreign invader to subdue such a king. It is intestine discord that has been the ruin of many a kingdom. S. W. Jones's translation is given below .—"As dust when intermixed with thorns cannot be trampled on, so a king, who has many brethren cannot be subdued." The difference in the first portion of the translation might probably have arisen out of a misprint in the scholar's text which probably substitutes *Renu* for *Venu,* the Sanskrit letters (*Ra*) and (*Ba*) resembling one another very closely. *Renu* means 'dust.'

§ All his efforts and perseverance avail him nothing when he is to combat with superior might, and in spite of them, he is sure to be defeated.

safety for him, as there is none for a deer under the claws of a lion, (save in the conclusion of peace).

48. When a powerful sovereign wants to seize a little only (of his enemy's territory or treasure), even then will he kill the latter, like a lion killing an infuriate elephant. Therefore, one desiring his own good, should conclude peace with such an adversary.*

49. There are precedents to prove that it is better not to fight with a stronger foe.† For, never can clouds roll in a direction opposite to that of the wind.‡

50. Prosperity leaves not that king who bows low before a powerful adversary and puts forth his prowess in proper season, even as rivers (that naturally flow downwards) cannot flow upwards.§

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* The meaning of the author is certainly this, but his expression is not clear. 'When a powerful adversary invades another's kingdom only to get a little of the latter's territory or treasure, it is advisable for the latter to conclude peace. For, like a lion that cannot possibly feed on the entire carcass of the elephant, but kills it all the same, the stronger enemy would kill the weaker one, though he does not want to appropriate the whole of the latter's dominions.' But when the powerful king wants to confiscate the whole kingdom, it is better to die fighting for liberty than to surrender one's self.

† The first part of the Sloka admits of another construction, which is as follows:—"There is no evidence to justify the statement that a powerful antagonist should always be fought against." This though it does not change the meaning of the passage materially, is still worthy of notice. The construction becomes different as we take *Na* with *Vadhvakyam* or *Asti*. The construction we have given, points out the appropriateness of the example embodied in the next line, which in the other case seems out-of-place.

‡ S. W. Jones's translation is as follows:—"It is not advisable to fight with a hero; even a cloud cannot go in opposition to the wind." The author enjoins the conclusion of peace with the powerful, for, trying to go against them, a king is blown away like clouds trying to go against the wind.

§ The principle inculcated in the first part of the Sloka is quite apparent. None can deny that it is safe to be in peace with one more

51. Like the son of Jamadagni,* every king who, in all places, at all times and over every enemy, obtains victory in battle, enjoys the earth merely through the prestige of prowess.†

52. He, with whom a king victorious in many battles concludes peace, is sure to bring his foes under his sway in no time, even through the prowess of his new ally.‡

53. Never should an intelligent prince trust his adversary even if he be bound by the ties of a treaty,§ inasmuch

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powerful than one's self. But at the same time, the weaker of the two must not miss any opportunity in which, by the help of his prowess and energy, he has any chance of crushing his powerful rival. The author means this : 'The comparatively weaker sovereign should remain in apparent peace with others more powerful than himself, watching opportunities to establish his superiority. This is the high road to royal prosperity. *Pratipa* means, contrary, adverse.

* Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 45.

† What the author means is this, that a king who has had the fortune of obtaining a large number of victories, becomes so well-known and feared that, he can enjoy his kingdom even through his mere prestige although at the same time there may be serious diminution of his strength. S. W. Jones gives :—"Like the son of Jamadagni, every king who in all places and at all times, obtains victory in battle, enjoys glory."

‡ What the author means is this. A monarch concluding peace with another victorious in many battles, enjoys much profit, inasmuch as his adversaries knowing his alliance with the ever-victorious king, yield themselves up without any resistance whatever, as they know that that will be unavailing. S. W. Jones's translation of the Sloka is as follows : "He who makes peace with a prince who has been victorious in many wars, assuredly overcomes his own enemies. This king therefore who has been often a conqueror is he with whom peace ought to be made."

§ The anxiety of the author for the safety of the royal personages is so keen that after embodying such an elaborate instruction regarding how to chose parties to a peace, he would not be content ; but warns the kings not to place confidence on allies, and not to be lulled in a sense of safety generated ordinarily by a thought of the conclusion of peace. Such thoughts of safety often bring disaster on a king.

as, in the days of yore, Indra while openly declaring a cessation of hostility, slew Vritra (when the latter was thrown out of his guard.)*

54. The enjoyment of royalty† either by a son or by a father, changes his nature considerably,‡ and therefore is it said that the ways of princes are different from those of ordinary people.§

55. When assaulted by a powerful adversary, a sovereign should seek shelter inside his castles, whence he should make vigorous efforts, and for his own liberation, invoke the assistance of another king still more powerful than his assailant.‖

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* The allusion in the last part of the Sloka is obscure. Vritra was a powerful demon who was killed by Indra. But we know nothing of the perfidy of Indra referred to here by the author. The reader is referred to our translation of Srimadvhagavatam, Book VI, where an elaborate description of the battle could be found.

The commentator suggests certain minor changes in readings *viz*., *Samhita* for *Samdhita* and *Adrohi* for *Adroha*.

† For *Rajyàtanicha* the commentary substitutes *Rajyàlida*, which latter reading we have accepted.

‡ The first line lit. translated, would stand thus :—"A low-minded father or a son becomes susceptible of perversion when royalty devolves on them."

§ What the author means seems to be this :—"The filial or paternal affection that is ordinarily found to subsist between a father and a son, could not always be looked for in the royal father or son. Their exalted ranks swing their heads, and their conduct becomes unnatural. It has been wisely said "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown" for, it cannot even find solace in the lap of the father or the son. What made the author put in this Sloka here is this that, he has already warned sovereigns not to trust allies ; he also advises them not to trust their own father or their sons, for royalty is like an intoxicating liquor having the power to corrupt the whole inner man.

‖ The author now proceeds to describe what should be done by the king who is unfortunate enough to be assailed by an adversary who would not consent to conclude peace. The advice given, as the reader can see, is perfectly politic and none the less diplomatic.

56. Like* a lion attacking an elephant, a monarch forming a right estimate of his own *Utsàhasakti*,† can fall upon another superior to him. This is what the son of Bharadwaja‡ says.

57. A single lion crushes a thousand herds of huge tusked elephants; therefore, working himself up into fury equal to that of a lion, a (weaker) sovereign should fall upon his (powerful) adversary.§

58. ||Of a sovereign, who exerting himself to the best

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* The author now points out what is to be done in the absence of a sovereign competent to help the one assailed by a powerful adversary. In this case, the weaker monarch should at first carefully judge his *Utsàhasakti* (Vide below) and then he should fall upon the assailant. That there is chance of success, the author exemplifies by citing the case of the lion slaying the elephant, which latter is much stronger and larger in proportion than the former.

† *Utsàhasakti* we have explained in an earlier note (Vide note to Sloka I, Sec. I). But the meaning the author here wants it to convey is a little wider. It means not only the power of energy, but also agility, quickness and activity which are the qualities incident to an energetic nature. *Utsâhasakti* here refers also to the other *Saktis* of the sovereign, and it includes, the efficiency of the army and the abundance of the sinews of. war.

‡ The son of Bharadwaja is the celebrated Drona, the military preceptor of the Kurus and the Pandavas. He was born out of a *Drona* or bucket in which his father preserved the seed which fell at the sight of a celestial nymph called *Ghritâchi*.

§ The author further illustrates what he has said in the previous Sloka. It is not so much the physical strength of his soldiers that gives success to a sovereign, but it is their fierceness engendered by some sense of wrong, that ensures it. Strength is as necessary for success as are agility and quickness and firmness of intention.

|| The author now proceeds to state that as there is risk in hazarding a battle with a powerful adversary, there is also immense advantage to be derived if in any way victory may be gained. When a king can put down his assailant, his other enemies are naturally inspired with a higher estimation of his strength than they had ere now formed. Thus they are frightened and venture not to oppose him when he attacks

of his powers, can crush his superior with his army,* the other enemies become conquered by him (this display of) prowess only.†

59. Where in war victory is doubtful, (in that case) peace should be concluded even with one equal in every respect;‡ for, as Vrihaspati§ says, "Embark not in any project where success is uncertain."||

60. For these reasons, the sovereign that desires his prosperity to reach the acme,¶ should conclude peace even with one equal to him in all respects. The clash between two unblaked jars surely becomes destructive of both.**

61. Sometimes†† by resorting to (uncertain) war both the parties reap destruction. Were not Sunda and Upasunda, both‡‡ equally powerful, destroyed by fighting with each other?

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them; and they fall an easy prey to him. In this way, without the evils of war, he succeeds in extending his empire, which is the highest ambition a sovereign may cherish.

* For *Sasainya* the commentator gives *Alpasainya*.

† For *Pratápasiddhena* the commentator substitutes *Pratápasiddhi*.

‡ The sum and substance of the author's advice is embodied in the text of this Sloka, which is very sound and statesman-like.

§ Vide an earlier note.

|| S. W. Jones's translation of the Sloka is as follows:—"Let a king seek peace for the love of religion; in war success is doubtful; but in making peace let no man doubt. So said Vrihaspati."

¶ The commentary suggests some minor changes in the readings which are as follows:—For *Tulyasampannábhi* is made *Asamprasiddhi* and *Abhivriddhikáma* for *Ativriddhikáma*.

** The last part of the Sloka hints at the result that may be expected when two princes equal in prowess happen to fight with each other. *Apakva* means 'not thoroughly burnt.'

†† The author further illustrates the instruction given in the last part of the preceding sloka, by saying that war between two equally powerful princes is destructive of both.

‡‡ Sunda and Upasunda were two brother demons, the sons of Nikumbha. They got a boon from the Creator that they would not any

62. *Even the most degraded and powerless enemy† should be made peace‡ with, when calamity threatens,§ inasmuch as, attacking at that time, he may cause troubles (to the mind)|| like a drop of water causing pain when it falls on a lacerated limb.¶

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until they would kill themselves. On the strength of this boon, they grew very oppressive, and Indra had at last to send down a lovely nymph named *Tilottamá*, and while quarrelling for her, they killed each other.

* The text of the Sloka has been considerabty changed by the commentator in order to wring out a plausible meaning. The Sloka specifies the occasion when peace is to be made even with a low-born person. We notice the changes of reading in the following notes.

† The word in the text is *Viheena* for which the commentary gives *Atiheena*. The commentator suggests *Atiheena* to mean 'in very bad circumstances.' This meaning is good. The author has said before that peace should not be made with those who are liable to be easily conquered; but there are occasions when even such an adversary should be made peace with.

‡ For *Susandhopi* the commentary gives *Sandheya.*

§ For *Agatas* the commentator reads *Agaté.*

|| For *Himavat* the commentary suggests *Hi manas.*

¶ For *Kshatam* the commentator gives *Kshaté.* The whole Sloka with the changes of reading noted above would read thus:—

"Atiheenopi Sandheyas Vyasané ripurágatè,

Patandunoti hi manas tovavinduriba kshaté."

What the autor means is this:—"Ordinarily peace should not be made with a weak and low-born adversary, as he can be defeated with ease. But when you are threatened by any grave calamity you might conclude peace with him, so that your anxiety on his score will be lessened. Monarchs weaker than yourself though ordinarily can do no harm to you, yet they may afflict you when you will be overwhelmed with a serious catastrophe; just as water though it does not give pain under ordinary circumstances will do so, when you are wounded.

63. If* on such occasions,† the comparatively weak monarch refuses to make peace, the reason is to be found in his mistrust‡ (of the other party). In that case, gaining the former's confidence, the other party should ruthlessly crush him.§

64. Having‖ concluded peace with a monarch more powerful than himself, a king exerting carefully to please the former,¶ should so serve him as to gain his confidence.**

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* As in the previous, so in this Sloka also, various changes in reading have been introduced, and in lieu of noticing the changes separately, we give below the Sloka as it would be when the readings are all amended :—

"*Heena chet Sandhi na gachchet tatra kritavisvamayas*
Tasya Visrambhamutpadya prahartabyamabhisaran."

The author here suggests the measure that should be resorted to, in the case of the weaker king's refusal to make peace. The Sloka as given in the text, may give some meaning, but that would not be suited to the context. Literally rendered it would be this :—'Never desire to make peace with the low, the reason being, there is much uncertainty in such a treaty (and hence it will not last long). Therefore acquiring their confidence, a king should smite them down, actuated by desire for gain.' Even here, we have to change a little of the text.

† When calamity threatens.

‡ This part of the text seems to be vicious. The commentator has not suggested any emendation. The emendation embodied in the changed reading of the Sloka is our own. *Samsaya* means 'doubt' or 'mistrust'; therefore *Asamsaya* means 'certainty' 'belief' &c. Thus we can make out some sense if we read *Asamsayas*.

§ The last portion contains advice as to how such refractory kings should be dealt with.

‖ The author now proceeds to determine the duty of a weaker monarch when he concludes peace with one stronger than himself.

¶ For *Tam pranigya prasadpanam*, the commentary gives *Damana pratiyatnavan*. We have translated the reading given in the commentary. There is another minor change in the next line of the Sloka, which needs no explanation.

** The strain in which the author sings is this :—'When peace is made with a more powerful king, try to gain his confidence by hook or

65. Unsuspected* and ever watchful and always inscrutable in his expressions and designs, he (the weaker king) should speak only those words that would be agreeable.† But he should do what it is his duty to do.‡

66. Through confidence intimacy may be secured; through confidence an act (of selfish interest) may be successfully achieved.§ It was through her confidence on him that the lord of the celestials was able to destroy the fœtus of Diti.||

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by crook; and then taking advantage of the intimate knowledge that you would gain of his affairs, crush him completely. Whether you make peace with the weaker or the stronger king, always try to crush him, so that you will be relieved of the fetter that peace necessarily puts on you." It seems that the author would not hesitate to inculcate the sacrifice of honesty and good faith at the altar of empire's advancement. We do not know what ultimate good such a policy would bring. What we have written above, would be evident from a perusal of the next Sloka.

* Lit. rendered would be, 'confided upon.'

† If he behaves in this way, not the slightest suspicion would ever fall upon him. Thus he would have every opportunity for serving his own end *viz.*, to slay the stronger king. "*Priya*" words are as "*Jaya*" "*Jiva*," "Victory" "Long live the Emperor" &c.

‡ This, according to our author, is, as the reader is aware, to slay the other superior king. The weak prince should show every possible deference to his superior in words and deeds, but he should never forget his ultimate aim of doing away with him.

§ The author now enumerates the advantages that are gained when confidence of the stronger king is obtained by the weaker. Being a confidante, the latter gradually becomes a favorite; when in that position, it becomes considerably easy to achieve the task (or the duty as the author calls it) he has in his heart *viz.*, the destruction of the former.

|| The last part contains an allusion which has not been explained in the commentary. The reference seems to be to the birth of the *Marutas* or Wind-gods. When *Diti* the mother of the demons was quick with the *Marutas*, Indra, knowing by his *yoga*-prowess that she was going to give birth to a child that would be a formidable opponent of his, entered her womb and there severed the fœtus in seven times seven parts.

67. Having* formed a firm alliance with the principal officers† or the royal son‡ of even a cool-headed§ assailant, the (assailed) king should endeavour to sow dissension|| among the former's party.

68. The¶ assailed sovereign should try to saddle the principal officers of the assailant with accusations, by spending money** lavishly (in bribes) and by (treasonable) letters and documents, in which his identity would be hidden.††

69. Thus‡‡ when an intelligent sovereign succeeds in

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* The author now suggests other measures by which a powerful assailant may be overthrown. These measures naturally fall under the expedients of foreign policy enumerated in an earlier part (Vide note to Sloka 51, Sec. IV). The first of these measures is to sow discord (*Vheda*) among the enemy, which will considerably reduce their strength and activity. This end, according to the author, is best served, when a conspiracy or league may be formed with one of the principal officers of the assailant's state.

† Such as, the minister, the royal priest, the physician, or the commander-in-chief.

‡ The word is *Yuvaraja* or the heir apparent or the crown prince.

§ What the author means seems to be this:—'Even a cool-headed adversary may be overthrown in this way, not speak of him who is rash.'

|| The commentary has introduced an emendation here; it reads *Antaprakopam* for *Tatat prakopam*. The reading given in the text scarcely yields any rational meaning.

¶ The author now suggests the means by which dissension can be effectually sown. The means is this:—'The assailed sovereign after gaining the confidence of the assailant, should try to alienate him from his ministers &c. He should try to bring down the wrath of the sovereign over the officers of state by imputing false charges to them; these charges, he should uphold by producing witnesses secured through bribe, and by forged letters and documents which should be so carefully drawn up as not to cast the slightest suspicion on him.'

** The reading in the text is vicious, and we have adopted that given in the commentary, which is *Arthotsargena*.

†† The commentary suggests another reading viz., *Arthasanghi-tais*, which means 'the meanings of which are very deep.'

‡‡ The result of sowing distrust among the adversary's party is described in this Sloka. We have, in our translation, been a little free

accusing the principal officers of the assailing monarch, the latter in spite of his being formidable, relegates all activity, inasmuch as he loses confidence over his own people.*

70. Intriguing† with the ministers of the enemy, the assailed king should tone down their efforts to crush him.‡ He should kill his enemy by weaning over his physician,§ or by administering poisonous liquids.||

71. The assailed king should, with all his efforts, try to enkindle the wrath of the monarch whose dominions lie just behind the assailant's.¶ Then, through his agency, he

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regarding the construction of the original, but this make the translation all the more lucid.

* The last portion of this Sloka would have been unintelligible but for the reading suggested in the commentary, which reads *Yàtyaviswàsam* for *Yasya viswasa.* When a sovereign cannot trust his own people, he can scarcely risk a battle with his enemy.

† What the author says in this Sloka is this :—"The assailed king should form secret alliances with the minister &c. of the assailant, so that they would not fight to the best of their abilities. It was this principle which Lord Clive followed in making Mirzafar apathetic towards the interest of Siraj during the battle of Plassey. As is well-known, Mirzafar during the course of the battle remained with his soldiers as inert as a wall. This conduct was of course due to the league he had formed with Clive previously."

‡ For *Tadavastham Samunnayet* the commentator gives *Taddramvam Samam nayet*, which indeed is an emendation. The former hardly gives any sense.

§ Who, of course, is able to treacherously kill him without the least difficulty.

|| The last mentioned alternative seems naturally to be connected with the other. But we have faithfully followed the construction of the original.

¶ The text of the Sloka is obscure inspite of the emendations given in the commentary. The translation given above is suited to the text and to the teachings already inculcated by the author. The Sloka would admit of another meaning, which will nearly tally with what is given above, differing in minor details only. That rendering would be something like this :—"The assailed king should fan a quarrel between

should heedfully bring about the assailant's destruction.*

72. The† assailed king should, through spies disguised as astrologers‡ inhabiting the assailant's country§ and possessing all the auspicious marks of inspired Seers, cause predictions to be made before the latter to the effect that dreadful calamities would soon overtake him.

73. Taking|| into consideration the loss,¶ the expenditure,** the difficulty†† and the destruction‡‡ &c.,

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the assailant and him who is looked upon with disfavour by this latter. Then, through the agency of the person out of favour, he should crush the enemy." What the author refers to is that expedient of foreign policy which is known as *Veda*. What he means is this that, when a weak monarch is assailed, he cannot but seek external help, and this he should find in the *Parshnigraha* of the assailant, whose anger against the latter he should try to rouse. Then united with the *Parshnigraha* he should crush the foe.

* The commentary gives *Pradharsayet* for *Prasadhayet*; we have accepted the emendation.

† This Sloka suggests a means that would act as a *deterrent* to the assailant and induce him to adjourn active operations against the assailed, and thus giving the latter time to secure others' help &c. The meaning is this:—"As soon as he is assailed, the king should, by bribing, win over some of the subjects of the assailant's dominions; he should then put them in disguise as venerable astrologers with all the external marks of holiness. They should then repair to the assailant's camp who would naturally seek their help in determining the *finale* of the war he is going to wage. Now the disguised astrologers would tell him that the stars are impropitious and forebode great danger. In this way the assailant's spirit will be damped and he will not launch immediately on war.

§ *Naimittikas*—means those who can read the signification of *Nimittas* or omens. Hence an astrologer.

‡ For *Uddesa Avitasamvitas* the commentary reads *[illegible]samvitas*; and for *Sadhvalakshana* it reads *Siddhalakshana*.

|| The author now proceeds to delineate the evil effects of war, which he thinks will dissuade kings from seeking wars rashly.

¶ Such as the death of the principal and commanding officers.

** The draining of the treasury and the devastation of the crops &c.

†† Such as the inclemency of the weather, &c.

‡‡ Of men and munitions.

involved in a war, and weighing seriously its good as well as evil effects, the assailed king would rather do well to willingly * submit to certain hardships, than launch upon war; for war is ever prolific of evil consequences.

74. The body, the wife,† the friends and the wealth of a sovereign may cease to be of any avail to him, within a wink's time, when he launches on war, (in which there is every possible danger of his life).‡ These again are constantly jeopardised in war. Therefore an intelligent§ sovereign should never engage in a war.

75. What king, who is not a fool, would put his friends, his wealth, his kingdom, his fame and even his own life in the craddle of uncertainty by embarking on war? ||

76. When assailed, a sovereign desiring peace, should conclude¶ a firm treaty, by means of conciliation, gifts or or bribery or by sowing dissension** among the enemy, at a time when the latter's array of troops would cross the boundaries of his territory; before this should not betray his peaceful intentions.††

77. Protecting himself and his army effectually and concentrating all his forces, a brave king (when assailed) should

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* When there is no other alternative except war, it is better to make peace even with certain inconveniences to one's self.

† What the author means is this :—When a king engages in war there is every danger of his being slain, in which case his body, wife, &c. will be of no use to him.

‡ For *Valam* (army) the commentary gives *Kalatram* or wife.

§ The reading in the text is *Vidyàt* which certainly is vicious. The commentator gives nothing. We substitute *Vidwan*.

|| As soon as a king engages in a war, these things become uncertain, and he may lose them any moment, being slain or defeated.

** For *Santapayet* the commentator gives *Samsthapayet* which reading we have accepted.

¶ For these Vide an earlier note (Sloka Sec. .

†† In the last part of the translation, we have been a little free for the sake of lucidity.

perform many manœuvers to afflict his assailant; then when the latter shall be involved in great dangers, let him make proposals of peace. For it is with hot iron that hot iron becomes fused.*

78. These are the different kinds of peace (and the modes of forming them), which have been enumerated by ancient† and mighty sages. By putting forth his prowess, a ruler of men should subdue his refractory‡ enemy. He should act after having discerned (through his prudence) what is good§ and what is bad.‖

Thus ends the ninth Section, the dissertation on peace, in the Nitisara of Kamandakiya.

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* But if the assailant refuses to make peace, the author says, the assailed should not surrender unconditionally, but to the best of his might and intelligence, fight and annoy his adversary. If at the time of his defeat he wants to make peace, the victor would be exacting in his terms. So, by equal fierceness only, can he conclude a firm treaty. S. W. Jones's translation of the Sloka is as follows.

"Preserving his secret unrevealed and his forces well-united, let a hero march and annoy his enemy, for hot iron may form an union with hot iron; so he by equal fierceness, at a time when his foe is fierce, may conclude a firm peace."

For *Samdpam* in the last line the commentator gives *Sandhanam*, which evidently is the true reading. The commentator quotes *Chanakya* in support of the author.

"*Nataptam Loham, Taptena Sandhatte.*"

'Cold iron cannot become fused with hot iron.'

† For *Purvatana* the commentator reads *Purvatana*.

‡ That is, unwilling to make peace.

§ The last portion of the Sloka has been considerably changed in the commentary. For the last two lines, it reads:—

Valit, Yadanam Vinayet Naresvarah
Samikshya Karyyam Guru Chintanijabuddhi.

We have adopted the reading of the commentary; still the portion seems to be vicious.

‖ The word is *Guru* which lit: means, 'that which redounds to the credit of the performer.'

SECTION X.

1. POSSESSED by thoughts of revenge, and with hearts burning with anger engendered by the infliction of mutual wrongs, people proceed to fight with one another.*

2. One may also launch upon a war, for the amelioration of his own condition, or when oppressed by his foe,† if the advantages of the soil and the season be in his favor.‡

3. §Usurpation of the kingdom, abduction of females,|| seizure of provinces and portions of territory,¶ carrying away

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* The author's meaning, explained by the commentator, seems to be this :—" Wrath and resentment caused by the infliction of injuries, are the chief causes of war."

† What the author means to say is this :—Wrath and resentment are not the only causes that breed war, but a desire for elevating one's position, or excessive oppression by the foe, may also lead one to hazard a war. But there is a provisio in the latter case, which is this that before declaring war, one must see that the advantages of the land and time are in his favor ; if they are not so, he must not go to war, for, in that case defeat will be inevitable.

‡ *Désakàlavalopétas.*—Another meaning of this compound different from what we have embodied above, is suggested by the commentator ; it is this :—Supported by the advantages of the land and the season, and by an army well-equipped with men and munition.

§ This and the following two Slokas should be read together. The author now enumerates all the causes and occasions when war is launched upon by kings and sovereigns.

|| For example the commentator cites the case of the abduction of Sita by Ravana, (refer to Ramayana).

¶ *Sthana* and *Desa* mean almost the same thing ; in our rendering we follow the commentary strictly.

of vehicles and treasures,* arrogance,† morbid sense of honor,‡ molestation of dominions,§

4. Extinction of erudition,‖ destruction of property, violation of laws,¶ prostration of the regal powers, influence of evil destiny, the necessity of helping friends and allies,** disrespectful demeanour, the destruction of friends,††

5. The want of compassion on creatures,‡‡ disaffection of the *Prakriti Mandala* §§ and common eagerness for possessing the same object, these and many others have been said to be the (prolific) sources of war.

6. The‖‖ means for extinguishing the wars caused by

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* *Yāna* lit. means 'that which carries' hence conveyance of any kind, including horses, elephants &c., *Dhana* the commentary explains as gems and jewels.

† The word in the text is *Mada*, explained by the commentator to mean, arrogance engendered by the sense of personal courage and heroism!

‡ Like that of Ravana, who thought, "What! shall I, Ravana the king of the three worlds, make over Sita to her husband, out of mere fear?"

§ The original word is *Vishayakshobha*—which lit.: means 'some disorder in the kingdom.' When caused internally, it begets civil war. *Vishaya* here means 'kingdom.'

‖ The original word is *Jnāna-nighāta* which the commentary explains to mean the destruction of the literary class, who are instrumental in the cultivation and spread of knowledge.

¶ The commentator explains,—the infringement of the social laws and customs.

** The word in the text is *Mitrārtham* which the commentary takes to mean, 'for the sake of friends.'

†† The word in the text is *Bandhunāsanam*: the author means this, that when an ally is destroyed by his enemy, a king takes up the cause of his ally and avenges his destruction in turn.

‡‡ The commentary explains:—'To abandon creatures to the mercy of their enemy, having at first given them full assurances of safety.'

§§ *Prakriti Mandala*—vide in an earlier note.

‖‖ Having enumerated the sources of war, the author now goes on to describe the measures by which such wars may be put an end to. We have rendered this Sloka freely for making the sense clear.

the usurpation of kingdoms, abduction of females and seizure of provinces and portions of territory, have been specified by those skilled in the expedients of policy, to be the relinquishment of the kingdoms, the restoration of the females and the evacuation of the provinces, respectively.*

7. The means for pacifying the wars caused by the violation of laws and the spoliation of porperty† are the restoration of the laws and the restitution of the property, respectively. The means for putting an end to a war caused by the molestation of the kingdom‡ by the foe, is to molest the kingdom of the latter in return.

8. Of wars caused by the carrying away of treasures§ and by the destruction of knowledge and the prostration of the regal powers, the end is reached by the restitution of the things taken, by forgiveness and indifference.||

9. Wars brought about by allies through their oppression and persecution, should be looked upon with indifference¶;

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* For *Madena* of the text, the commentary gives *Damena*.

† The word in the text would mean lit: "The war arising out of some cause detrimental to the interests and government (of one of the parties concerned)." We have translated this Sloka also freely.

‡ *Visaya* here, as before, means 'kingdom or the dominions of a monarch.'

§ For *Yána* of the text the commentary gives *Dhana*, which we have accepted.

|| The second line in the original bristles with bad readings. The commentary has suggested certain emendations but for which it would have been difficult to make any sense out of the line. For *Shama* it gives *Sama* and for *Tadarthaschangena* gives *Tadarthatyàgena*. Both these emendations we have accepted.

¶ The sense of the author is this:—When the allies of a king bring about a war through their wanton behaviour and policy, he should not join them, but remain indifferent; so that, none of the evils of the war may overtake him. It is always the duty of a sovereign to make common cause with his allies; but not so in this case.

but, for a generous ally* even the very life may be risked.†

10. War caused by the offer of insult should be extinguished by the offer of honour. Conciliation and propitiation are the means for pacifying a war caused by pride and arrogance of one party.

11. A brave king should reach the end of a war caused by the destruction of a friend or an ally,‡ by the application of underhand measures, or by having recourse to incantations and magical spells.§

12. For pacifying a war having for its cause the eagerness for possessing the same object (by two kings), a prudent king should give up that object, provided that his royal prestige does not suffer thereby.‖

13. The war caused by the spoliation of a portion of the treasures¶ should not be prosecuted in,** inasmuch as

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* The commentary gives *Âtmanahmitravargântam* for *Âtmanahmitravargântu.*

† But when a generous and faithful ally is involved in a war, a sovereign should offer him aid, even if such conduct may cost him his very life.

‡ When the ally of a king is destroyed, it is prudent for him not to declare open war against his ally's foe, but to apply secretly the expedients of policy and thereby undermine his (the other's) strength.

§ One line of this Sloka is omitted in the text. The line as given by the commentator is this:—

Rahasyena prayogena Rahasye karanena va.

Rahasya-prayoga is the use of covert measures. *Rahasyakarana* is the employment of incantations and charms for some malevolent purpose; it includes *Mârana*, *Vasîkarana* &c.

‖ What the author means is this:—When two kings set their heart upon possessing one and the same object, war becomes inevitable. To avoid such a war, one of the contending sovereigns must withdraw himself; but the withdrawing monarch must be careful that his royal prestige is not prejudiced by his falling back; in that case, he should fight to the last rather than lose his prestige and honour.

¶ For *Dhanâpachârajâm* the commentator gives *Kośapakshayajâm.* The meaning is not materially changed by this change in reading.

** For *Tannirodham*, the commentary substitutes *Virodham*, which makes the Sloka intelligible.

by carrying on a war, a man may lose all his treasures.*

14. When the party against whom war is waged is numerous,† its end should be reached by sowing dissensions in the enemy's camp, by gift, bribery,‡ reconciliation, tempting offers, and other such expedients of policy.§

15. War caused by the want of showing compassion to creatures, should be extinguished by speaking agreeable and pleasing words to them.‖ The means approved of by the pious for pacifying a war brought about by the evil influence of Fate, is to propitiate Fate.¶

16—18. War incident to the rebellion of the dis-

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* What the author wants to emphasise is this :—When the cause of the war is the seizure of a portion of the treasure, it should not be carried on; for, if prosecuted in, there is every chance of the rest of the treasure being drained out to meet the expenses of the war; moreover there is no certainty about success.

† The word in the text is *Màhájana*, which the commentator takes to be equivalent to *Vahujana*.

‡ The first half of this Sloka again has been omitted in the text. The commentary supplies it. It is this :—

Trishnopanyásayuktèna Sàmadànadikènagha.

§ The author's meaning is this :—When war is inevitable with a numerically strong party, then one should not hazard pitched battles, but try to produce intestine discord among the enemy's troops and generals, and wean over some of them to his side by gift, bribery &c. Thus weakening the odds against him, he will compel them to conclude peace.

‖ The commentary quotes another reading for the first part of the Sloka, to be found in the Benares Edition. It is this :—

Bhutànugrahavichchedajàt yàntam Vrajet vasee.

It means—'One who can control his passions, can reach the end of a war engendered by the failure of showing compassion to creatures.'

¶ When through the influence of Destiny war becomes inevitable, the means for pacifying it, is the performance of ceremonies calculated to propitiate adverse Fate and redound to the peace and tranquility of the kingdom. These ceremonies are technically called *Sànti*, *Sastyayana* &c.

affected *Mandala*,* is to be pacified by the application of one or the other measures of policy.†

Hostilities‡ have been said, by those who know how to remove them, to be of five kinds :—(1) That produced by a spirit of rivalry,§ (2) that caused by some dispute about lands,‖ (3) that having women at the root,¶ (4) that produced by irresponsible spies,** (5) and that consequent on some fault or transgression on one side.†† The son of *Valgudanti*‡‡ speaks of four kinds of hostilities only, viz., (1) that caused by the invasion of one's territory, (2) that caused

* The word in the text is *Mandalakshobha*; *Mandala* of course here refers to the *Prakriti-mandala*, and *Kshobha* means agitation or disturbance; the commentator explains *Mandalakshobha* to mean, *Prakritinam Vidroha*, or the rebellion of the subjects.

† The word in original is *Upaya* (Vide note to Sloka 53 Sec V).

‡ Having enumerated the general causes of war and the means for pacifying them, the author now proceeds to define and describe the several kinds of hostilities.

§ The original word in the text is *Sapatnajam*; *Sapatna* is rival or a foe; the commentary explains it to mean—"hostility ordinarily to be found existing among foes."

‖ *Vastujam*—etymologically means 'originating from some *Vastu* or object'; the commentator specifies the objects to be, land, treasure, territory &c.

¶ The meaning of the author, as explained by the commentator is this :—"Hostility having for its cause the intrigue and illicit love of women." This meaning although appropriate is not comprehensive; *Strijam* would mean that kind of hostility that has anything to do with females.

** Here the commentator has introduced a change in the reading; he reads *Chârajam* for *Vâgjatam*. *Châra* means spies, scouts or emissaries; hence *chârajam* would mean, hostility, which spies cause to spring up between two parties. The *Charas* bring one report or other of the treacheries of one party and thereby sow in the heart of the other, the seeds of enmity.

†† This is the ordinary kind of hostility, which originates from some guilt or transgression.

‡‡ The son of *Valgudanti* is Indra; the reading in the text is *Vakudanti* for which the commentary gives *Valgudanti*.

by something (done by others) prejudicial to the exercise of the regal powers,* (3) that resulting from some dispute about the boundaries† of dominions, (4) and that produced by some disturbance of the *Mandala*.‡

19. Men take cognizance of two kinds of hostilities only *viz.*, (1) that which is hereditary,§ (2) and that bred by some fault or transgression.‖

War¶ from which the benefit derived will be a little, that from which it will be nothing, that in which success is dobtful,**

20. That injurious at present,†† that without any future benefit,‡‡ that with one whose strength is unknown, that with a wicked person,§§

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* The original word is *Sakti Vighàtajam*, which means, originating from the deadening of the *Saktis*; our rendering is a little free.

† The original word is *Bhumyanantarajátam* which the commentator explains thus. 'Resulting in consequence of the territories bordering on one another.' Hence the meaning we have given above.

‡ *Mandala* referred to here is the *Mandala* of twelve kings (Vide an earlier note). The disturbance of this *Mandala* is equivalent to the disturbances of the balance of power that is ordinarily found to exist in it.

§ That is, handed down by the father to the son; ever constant in the family.

‖ This is the common sort of hostility, bred by the offer of insult and offences.

¶ The author now goes on to describe what kinds of wars are to be avoided.

** The text-word lit translated would be, 'the result of which is uncertain.'

†† That is, 'war that alienates friends and disturbs the balance of power existing among the kings of the *Mandala*.' *Tadátwa* means, for the time being.

‡‡ For the first line of this Sloka, the Benares Edition substitutes,

Ayatyám cha tadátwe cha dosa Samyamanam Tathà.

§§ The commentary paraphrases *Dusta* by deceitful; for the sake of a good construction, here we omit to translate one word, and have rendered it in the first half of the 23rd Sloka.

21. That for the sake of others,* that for the sake of a female,† that extending over a considerable length of time,‡ that against illustrious Brahmanas,§ that which is unseasonable,‖ that against one aided by the gods,¶ that with one having allies and friends proud of their prowess.**

22. That beneficial for the present but without any future good, and that from which advantages may be derived in future but not so at present.

23. These are the sixteen kinds of war that should not be launched upon and tenaciously adhered to†† by a prudent

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* It is rather difficult to ascertain what the author means by *Parartham*; ordinarily it would have the meaning we have already embodied in our translation. The sense the writer wants to convey is that a king should not without much deliberation, take up the cause of others, and even if he does so, he should not prosecute the war for a long time. Another meaning hinted at by the commentator is, 'for the sake of snatching away (or guarding and preserving) the properties of others.' A war for the only object of depriving others of their properties and rights, should not be waged and adhered to.

† Lit translated the text-word would stand thus—'Having for the cause.' The commentator explains 'war brought about by the eagerness of two monarchs to possess one and the same woman.'

‡ A lengthy war should be avoided for at the end it leaves both the parties ruined.

§ It was believed in ancient India that Brahmanas had the power to destroy their enemies by mere words of their mouth. So it is no use waging war against them.

‖ The original word is *Akala*, which the commentator explains thus;—In seasons of the year that are not fit for declaring war, such as the rainy season &c. Autumn is the best time for declaring war in India.

¶ The word is *Daivayuktena* which according to the commentator is equivalent to *Daivasakti sampannena*. It was believed that the gods fight for men; or the word may mean 'possessing divine or God-like powers obtained through boons &c'.

** For *Valadhritasukhena* the commentary gives *Valadhipatasakhena*.

†† The word omitted in the last part of the sixth Sloka, is here rendered. For *Stovita* the commentator gives [illegible].

king. A wise king should wage only such a war, from which advantages may be derived both at present, and in the future.

24. He should ever set his heart upon performing acts beneficial both for the time being and in future. By accomplishing such acts productive of present and future good, a king never brings shame on himself.*

25. A learned man should perform acts conducive to his good both in this and the next world. Tempted by trifling wealth and objects of enjoyment in this world, he should never do any thing detrimental to his welfare in the next.†

26. A man acting in a way prejudicial to his welfare in the next world, should be shunned at a distance.‡ The *Shastras*, bear testimony to the truth of the above proposition. Therefore, one should perform pious and beneficient acts.

27. When an intelligent§ monarch finds his own army happy and efficient|| and that of his foe in the reverse state, then may he launch upon war.

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* In the original Sloka the verb is omitted. The commentory therefore supplies *Yáti* after *Váchyatám*.

† The translation given above is advisedly made free in order to bring out the meaning of the sloka clearly.

‡ The meaning of the another is explained by the commentator thus:—A person acting in a manner detrimental to his spiritual welfare is thought to be bold enough to perpetrate any sin whatever. So every body suspects and is afraid of him.

§ In this and the next two Slokas, the time and the circumstances under which war may be declared, are specified. The original text-word *Matiman* is explained by the commentator thus:—one who can judge what would conduce to his good and what not.

|| The word in the text is *Hrista-pusta*, a compound of *Hrista* (or cheerful, contented &c) and *Pusta* (well supplied with men and munetion, hence, in the most perfect condition).

28. When he finds his own *Prakriti Mandala** swelling in prosperity and very loyal to him,† and that of his enemy in the reverse condition, then may he embark upon war.

29. Territory, allies and wealth, these are the fruits of war‡; when by war the gain of these three is certain, then only may it be hazarded.

30.§ Wealth‖ is desirable,‖ allies are more desirable and lastly, acquisition of territory is most desirable. All-round prosperity is the out-come of territorial possessions, and friends and allies come in the train of prosperity.

31. Against an adversary equally prosperous, a prudent king should employ the expedients of policy. Even war against him when carried on agreeably with these sure and infallible measures of policy, is commendable.¶

32. When war has already come** a politic†† king

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* *Prakritimandala* refers to his numerous subjects.

† That is, enjoying health and plenty and cherishing the greatest respect for their sovereign.

‡ 'By fruits of war' the author probably means this, that a king waging a war, has the chance of acquiring territory, allies, or treasures.

§ The author now institutes a comparison between the three fruits of war and thereby ascertains their relative importance. The acquisition of territory, as the reader sees, is the highest good resulting from war.

‖ The word in the text is *Guru* which has numerous meanings; here probably it means—'importance,' but we have for the sake of lucidity rendered it a little freely.

¶ Previously the author has advised that war with one equal in every respect should be avoided. When it is inevitable, pitched battle should not be fought, nor should war be declared openly. But even if war is to be declared openly and battles fought, then the measures of policy should be adhered to, in order to undermine the strength of the enemy.

** That is, when inspite of all previous efforts to avoid it, war is declared, then the measures of policy should be had recourse to for the pacification of the war.

†† The text-word is *Vidwan* explained by the commentator to mean, *Rājanītivisārada* or a sound and a veteran statesman.

should pacify it by means of the expedients of policy. Victory is a thing uncertain; therefore one should not suddenly* fall upon another.†

33. A king‡ desirous of enjoying never-leaving prosperity when assailed by a stronger adversary, should have recourse to the conduct of canes§ and not to that of snakes‖.

34. Having¶ recourse to the conduct of canes, one gradually reaps immeasurable prosperity, whereas one who behaves like a snake brings down destruction on him.

35. A wise king waiting like one mad or intoxicated** for the opportune moment, should when such moments come, suddenly fall upon and devour up†† even an enemy whose strength has not suffered any diminution.‡‡

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* That is, without mature deliberation.

† The gist of the Sloka, given in the commentary is this :—Victory in war is uncertain, therefore even though there are ample resources for a king to carry on a war, he should pacify it with his best endeavours.

‡ The author here advises what is to be done when the weak monarch is assailed by the strong.

§ The original text-word is *Vaitasee* which means—"cane-like." *Vaitasee Vriti* therefore means this :—Just as a cane when forcibly bend yields easily and offers no resistance, so when assailed by a stronger foe a king should be yielding and pliant.

‖ *Voujangi Vriti,* is the serpentine conduct which is explained thus by Chanakya himself.

Amarsawa Sonitakânkhayà kim padâ Sprisantam dasati Dvijihva.

Serpents would never suffer any injury inflicted on them ; on the other hand they bite men without any provocation and without any gain to themselves.

¶ The author now describes the effects of cane-like and serpentine conduct.

** That is, as if quite indifferent and careless of what is going about him. This is merely a feint.

†† That is, crush completely.

‡‡ The primary duty of the weaker of the two, kings when assailed

36. A weak king should patiently bear the thrashing by the enemy, like a tortoise contracting within its shell when beaten;* but when the right time comes, the intelligent king should behave like a crooked serpent.†

37. Judging of the times, a king should be forbearing like the mountain, or furious like fire.‡ Sometimes it is advisable to bear the foe on one's shoulder and speak sweet and flattering words to him.‡

38. A king ingratiating himself into the favour of his foe§ and by conducting himself like one solicitous of his welfare, should know the purposes of the latter, which are ordinarily difficult of being known; then exerting himself in the right hour, he should catch hold of the locks of the goddess

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is to keep his eyes wide open for any opportunity that may occur. Acting in season, he may even crush his powerful enemy. He should seem to be indifferent to the state of affairs around him, only to create a belief in his adversary's mind that he is quite innocuous.

* The advice given here is only a continuation of what is embodied in Sloka (35). *Kurma Sankochanam* means, the way in which tortoises contract themselves within their shells when beaten or injured by man or any other animal. So, a king, if he finds himself weaker than the assailant, should behave like a *Kurma* or tortoise, that is, he should take shelter in his castles or seek it with his allies, &c.

† The serpent attacks others with fury and shows no leniency for its victim; so should the intelligent king, acting in the right moment, should be unrelenting and stern towards his foe, and would not stop until the latter's destruction has been completely achieved.

‡ The forbearance or the fury of the king should depend on the season and his own strength. When hard pressed, it is politic so to humiliate himself as to flatter, and bear on his shoulder his strong adversary; of course he is not to bear his foe literally on his shoulders, but the phrase is used to signify the depth of humiliation.

§ The commentary differs from the meaning we have given; it explains *Prasadavritya* to mean, by showing that he is contented with his subjugator.

of prosperity (and drag her over to him) by means of his right hand of deplomacy.*

39. A high-born, truthful, highly powerful, resolute, grateful, forbearing, energetic, greatly munificient and affectionate (towards his subjects) king is said to constitute a foe difficult of being subdued or defeated.

43. Untruthfulness, cruelty, ungratefulness, fearfulness, carelessness, idleness, cheerlessness, useless pride or pique, and extreme procrastination, and addiction to gambling and the company of women—these are the causes that ruin prosperity.†

41. When a prudent king finds these evil habits and faults in his foe, he shall, equipped well with his three S*aktis*, march against the latter for conquering him. Disregarding this a king brings about his own destruction; this is what the sages say.‡

42. Inspired with a (laudable) desire for the amelioration of the condition of his kingdom, and the exaltation of his own position, ever seeing the affairs and movements of the (kings of his) *Mandala* by means of his eyes constituted by the spies,§ a monarch, with all his efforts concentrated, and

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* Knowing the enemy's plans and mode of working &c. it would be easy for the subdued sovereign to overthrow him. The first part contains a metaphor, divested of which it would mean that he would gain victory and be prosperous.

† The last portion of the Sloka has been rendered a little freely for the sake of lucidity. These habits in a foe render him susceptible of easy victory.

‡ In this Sloka the author specifies the right moment for marching against a foe.

§ *Charas* or spies are said to be the eyes of the king, *i.e.*, through their agency he can know what is going on in every part of his kingdom, or anywhere else. *C.f.* Ramayana. "Inasmuch as kings though remaining far away, come to know of every object and affair through their spies, they are said to have eyes constituted by the spies."

resolute should, betaking to the path of war, exert his utmost in order to win success.

Thus ends the tenth section, the dissertation on war, in the Nitisara of Kamandaka.

SECTION XI.

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1. THE expedition which an eminently powerful and energetic* sovereign† whose subjects are loyally attached to him through his many excellent qualities, sets out upon, in order to obtain victory,‡ is called *Yána*.§

2. *Vigrihya, Sandhâya Sambhuya Prasanga* and

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* The original word is *Utkrishtabala virya* which may have also a meaning other than what is given in our translation—viz—'He whose army is in an excellent condition and whose prowess is great.'

† The word is '*Vijigisu*,' for an elaborate explanation of which vide note to sloka 16th Sec VIII.

‡ The text word is *Jayaisina*, which means—'one ardently desirous of gaining victories.' But to avoid a clumsy construction, we have been a little free in our translation.

§ *Yána*—This is one of the six expedients to be had recourse to by a king in foreign politics, the root is *Yá* 'to go out,' literally meaning 'setting out.' Hence 'march against an enemy or more strictly any movement of a soveregin with martial intentions. The other five expedients are, (1) *Sandha* peace or alliance, (2) *Vigraha* or war (3) *Ásana* or sitting halt; (4) *Samsraya* or seeking shelter with others; and (5) *Dwaidhibhava* or dnplicity. C. F. *Amarakosa*; "*Sandhirna Vigraho Yanamasanam dwaidhava* '*samsrayas*'"; the two previous chapters contain the dissertations on peace and war; in this have been described the nature and character of the other expedients.

Upeksha,* these have been said by eminent politicians,† to be the five different kinds of *Yána*.

3. When a sovereign marches forward for crushing his host of enemies by the sheer dint of his prowers, it is called *Vigrihya-yàna*,‡ by the *Ac'aryyas*§ conversant with the nature of *Yànas*.||

4. When¶ a monarch supported by his own allies,** marches forth for completely crushing the allies of his enemies†† by force, it is said to be *Vigrihya-gamana*.‡‡

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* As the author subjoins elaborate explanations of these several kinds of *Yàna*, we need not anticipate him.

† The text word is *Neepuna* which lit: means clever, skilful. But here it means, proficient in politics. The reference here is perhaps to *Vrihaspati*, *Sukra* and others.

‡ *Vigrihya* comes from the root *graha* to take, with the prefix *vi*'; it means—to quarrel, fight; *vigraha* or war also comes from it. There are two different kinds of *Vigrihyayána* ; the first of these (as defined in the sloka to which this is a note) has been defined by the commentator thus :—"The expedition for the conquest of bellicose and assaulting foes.' The other has been specified in the next Sloka.

§ *Acharyya*—generally means a teacher or preceptor, hence one who expounds a particular science and teaches it to others. Here it means the preceptors of the military science, such as Drona was.

|| The original word is *Yànajna* which means 'one who knows *yanas* the translation given above is free inorder to bring out the meaning clearly.

¶ This is the second sort of *Vigrihya-yàna* referred to above. In the first kind, the march is against the foe himself, and in the second it is against his allies.

**. For the first half of this Sloka the following line is sometimes substituted :—

"*Atimitrani Sarvani Sumitrai Sarvatas Valàt*" the translation would then stand thus :—"The march for crushing the treacherous allies with the help of the faithful ones &c. "Atimitra" means—those who have trangressed the bonds of alliance and have wandered astray.

†† The word In the original is *Ari-mitra* for an elaborate explanation of which, vide note to sloka 16, Sec VIII.

‡‡ Synonymous with *Vigrihya-Yana-Gamana* being equivalent to *Yána*

5. When after concluding a treatye with the foe in the rear†, the *Vijigisu*‡ out of a desire for victory§ advances upon another foe,|| it is said to be *Sandhaya-gamana*¶.

6. When a monarch, in collusion with** *Samantas*†† faithful,‡‡ warlike§§ and powerful, marches against a com-

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* The text word is *Parshnigrahena Sandhaya* for an explanation of which vide not to Sloka 16, Section VIII.

† The original word is *Sandhaya* which is derived from *Sam* (completely) and *Dha* to join or unite. *Sandhaya* lit: means in collusion with.

‡ For *Vijigisu* Vide note to Sloka 16 Section VIII.

§ The commentator explains, "Expecting victory over his foe that is ready for the fight."

|| For *Yatavyamam* the commentator substitutes *Yatavyam*.

¶ *Sandhaya-gamana* lit: means, *Gamana* (March or march) after a *Sandhi* or treaty or alliance; hence expedition against a powerful adversary, in collusion with the *Parshnigraha*. Although the *Parshnigraha's* attitude is hostile, yet for the sake of encountering a stronger foe, alliance must be formed with him.

** *Ekeebhuya* lit: means, 'being one,' *i.e.* being of the same opinion (commentary). But we take it to mean—'united together.'

†† *Samanta* may mean, both a neighbouring or a feudatory prince; the commentary accepts the former, explaining it as "King's ruling over territories bordering upon those of his own." But *Samanta* has another meaning which may be equally appropriate here and that is,—a general entrusted with the command of the army.

‡‡ The original word is *Saucha-yuktas* which lit: means—Possessed of *Saucha* or purity." Purity here of course is equivalent to political integrity. Hence, it comes to "faithful."

§§ *Samparayikas* lit: means, relating to *Samparaya* or war; hence 'warlike' or strategic. The commentary substitutes *Samdhivigrahikas* here, which means—Counsellors or ministers. If this emendation be accepted then it would be more appropriate to take *Samanta* to mean generals; the first part of the translation would then stand thus—'When a monarch united with his faithful and powerful generals and counsellors,' &c.

mon) foe,* it is called *Sambhuya-gamana.*†

7. When, like Suryya and Hanumat‡ two kings,§ jointly undertake an expedition against a foe that threatens the safety of the *Prakritis* of both, it is called *Sambhuya-yâna.*

8. When after winning over *Sâmantas*|| of little prowess by the promise of reward in case of success,¶ a king marches against his foes, it is called *Sambhuya gamana.*

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* The word is *Akatra* or one against whom all should march.

† *Sambhuya-Gamanam* lit means a united advance, there are three kinds of *Sambhuya-Gaman* one is defined here and the others in the next two Slokas.

‡ *Suryya* or the sun is represented in the Hindu Mythology as the son of Kasyapa and Aditi. He runs his daily course through the heavens on a chariort and four with Aruna for his charioteer. Rahu, a demon, is his inveterate enemy who wreaks vengence on him at the time of the solar conjunction and opposition. Hanumant is the great monkey chief who played a prominent part in the Ramayana of Valmiki. He once got the sun under his armpit, for the latter trying rise in the heavens when Hahumant wanted him to remain below the horizon. Thus they were not the best of friends.

The allusion referred to here is obscure; but the commentary explains it. It says that in one occasion *Suryya* and Hanumant, jointly went to war against Rahu who wanted to swallow the sun as also the face of Hanumant which latter he probably mistook for the moon. Then though *Suryya* and Hanumant were not the best of friends, they joined together against their common foe.

§ The commentary, says that the two kings are the *Vijigisu* and the *Ari*. Although their attitude is ordinarily hostile to one another yet when both of them are threatened by a powerful adversary they join together and make a common cause.

|| *Sâmanta* here means 'neighbouring kings.'

¶ For *Falodayam* the commentary gives *Falodaye.* If the former be accepted then the translation would be 'promising them sure success.'

9. When a king, originally marching against a particular foe, afterwards through some contingency, proceeds against another, it is called *Prasanga-Yána*.* Madra king Salya is the example.†

10. When a powerful king marching against a foe has every chance of success,‡ but disregarding them, he proceeds against the latter's friends, it is called *Upeksha-Yána*.§

11. Having|| had recourse to this *Upeksha-plan*, Dhananjaya slew the dwellers of the Gahana city,¶ sparing

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* *Prasanga* means here, 'some event, or cause.' What the author means is this:—A king sets out on a march against a particular foe, but owing to some incident on his way, he changes his original intention and proceeds against another, although at the time of setting out he had no such intention.

† King Salya, the ruler of the Madras, was the maternal uncle of the Pandavas, being the brother of Madri the second wife of Pandu. As is natural, on the declaration of the great war between the Kurus and the Pandavas, he set out to join Yudhisthira, intending to fight against Duryodhana. But on his way there, he was artfully won over by Duryodhana and subsequently fought on his behalf. He maintained the field for one day during the latter end of the war, but was at last slain by Yudhisthira himself.

‡ The original word is *Bhukti-phalam* which lit. means 'sure victory.'

§ *Upeksha* means 'indifference' or 'disregard'. Hence *Upeksha-Yána* is the march undertaken by a king in utter disregard of some decided advantage which he may have turned to profit at his will. What the author means is probably this:—A king at first marches against a certain enemy of his and obtains victory over him, but without making the best of the occasion and completely crushing the foe, he proceeds against the latter's allies, who all the time thinking him to be satisfied with the victory obtained, were off their guard.

|| The author now explains *Upeksha-Yána* by an example.

¶ The allusion, though obscure, is explained by the commentator thus:—The Nivatakavachas, a clan of powerful demons, were attacked by Dhananjaya the third of the Pandavas. They were defeated and compelled to fly to the nether regions. But Dhananjaya, though then he

the *Nivàtkavachas* who had already been vanquished by him.*

12. Women,† (intoxicating) drinks, hunting, gambling‡ and diverse kinds of scourges of Fate,§ these are called the *Vyasanas*.‖ He who is under the influence of these, is called a *Vyasanin*, and is the right person against whom march with hostile intentions, should be directed.¶

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was quite competent to slay them, did not do so but left them alone; he at the same time, attacked the dwellers of the Golden city (a celebrated residence of the Danavas,) and completely crushed them having taken them quite unawares.

* After the eleventh sloka, thirteen new slokas are to be found in the commentary, which do not occur in the text before us. These slokas, with some slight differences here and there, correspond to the thirteen slokas of Section X, beginning with the twenty-second. To avoid unnecessary repetition, we do not translate those slokas here again but refer our readers to their translations in Section X.

† Having defined and described the different kinds of *Yàna*, the author here specifies the party against whom *Yàna* should be directed.

‡ By the enumeration of the simple names, the author really means to express that, excessive love for women, indulgence in intoxicating liquor, and addiction to gambling, hunting, &c., are culpable, and it is not they (*i.e.* women &c) that are the *Vyasana*, but over-fondness for them that constitutes the *Vyasanas*. According to the commentator, there are four kinds of *Vyasanam*, viz., *Stri-vyasanam* or excessive love for women, *Pànavyasanam*, or over indulgence in intoxicating drinks, *Aksha-vyasanams* or addiction to gambling and *Daibopaghàta vyasanam* or calamities inflicted by Fate.

§ The original word in the text is, *Daibopaghàta* which the commentary explains saying—*Daivi Apat*, or calamities inflicted by Fate, such as Famine, Pestilence &c.

‖ For an elaborate explanation of this word vide note to sloka 8 section VII., and also the Introduction.

¶ For *Sà gamyas* of the text, the commentary reads *Sugamyas*; but there is no necessity for this change; of course a *vyasanin* would be more liable to be defeated by his foes.

13. When* in consequence of the diminution their strengths suffer,† both the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu*‡ stop for a while (either in the beginning or during the progress of a war), it is called *Asana*.§ There are five kinds of *Asanas*.‖

14. When each (of the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu*) endeavours to thwart the plan of operation of the other, it is called *Vigrihyasana*.¶ When again a king besieges a foe it is called *Vigrihyasana*.**

15. When†† it becomes impossible to capture a foe secure within the stronghold of his castle‡‡, then a king

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* The author now goes on to define and describe what is known as *Asana* among the measures of policy.

† The text reads *Sâmarthyâvighâtât* for which the commentary gives *Sâmarthyâvighâtât*. The former reading means 'when the strength of either has not suffered any diminution.' We have accepted the reading of the commentary.

‡ Vide note to Sloka 16th Section VIII.

§ *Asana*—From *Asa* to halt or stop.—It is one of the modes of policy against an enemy. A lexicographer defines it, 'maintaining a post against an enemy.' It means the halt or stop in active operations against an enemy owing to some cause or other; or a halt in course of a march against an enemy.

‖ The five kinds of *Asana* are (1) *Vigrihyâsanam*, (2) *Sandhâyâsanam*, (3) *Sambhuyâsanam*, (4) *Prasangâsanam* and (5) *Upekshâsanam*.

¶ The original definition of *Vigrihyâsana* admits of another rendering *viz*, 'the act of attacking each other is called *Vigrihyâsanam*.' The commentary explains this in another way, taking it to be identical with the definition of *Asana* as embodied in the previous sloka.

** The last part of the sloka also admits of a different rendering *viz*. "When a king capturing or crushing a foe, halts for a while, it is called *Vigrihyâsanam*." Thus two kinds of *Vigrihyâsanam* have been specified here.

†† The author now mentions the time when *Vigrihyâsanam* should be had recourse to.

‡‡ For *Durgasthitas* the commentary gives *Durgagrasta* which makes no difference in meaning.

should lay seige to it, cutting off the *Asára** and blockading the road† (by which supporting forces from the country are likely to advance.)

16. Cutting‡ off the *Asára* and the communication with the country, reducing the strength of the enemy§ and disuniting his *Prakritis*,‖ a monarch should gradually bring him (his foe) under subjugation.

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* *Asàra* is the combined force of the allies of the beseiged. Vide note to Sloka 16th Section VIII; the author says that the forces sent by the allies of the beseiged foe, should be smitten down and crushed.

† The original word is *Veevadha*. For *Asàraveevadhán* of the text the commentary reads *Asàraveevadhou* which seems to be gramatically correct.

‡ The another now points out the results of the interception of the helping troops and the prohibition of all egress from and ingress to the beseiged fort. *Cutting off the Asara* is intended to mean the complete discomfiture of the troops that come to help the beseiged king.

§ The original word is *Prakshina-yava-saindhavam*—a compound of *Prakshinas* (utterly weakened) *Yava* and *Saindhava*. Now there is some difficulty about the meaning of the last two Sanskrit words. The commentary takes *Yava* to denote *Vega* or fleetness and *Saindhava* to mean 'horses of the Sindhu breed.' It therefore gives the compound the meaning we have embodied in the translation, taking horses to signify the whole army. But *Yava* (as spelled in the text) cannot mean *Vega*; it means, 'barley-corn.' *Saindhava* can also have a meaning other than horses of the Sindhu breed, viz., a kind of rock salt. In the age of the author there was no imported salt. It was this rock-salt which the people of India used in their meals. These considerations lead us to ascribe a totally different meaning to the word, which is—'When *Yava* or barely-corn, the staple good of the garrison, and the stock of salt are greatly reduced.' This meaning is all the more appropriate, because when food runs short in a garrison, there is no other course open to it but unconditional surrender. In accepting this meaning it must not also be forgotten that all egress and ingress have been cut off.

‖ For *Vigrihyamána Prakritim*, the commentary substitutes, *Vibhajyamána Prakritim* which means 'dividing the main stays of the kingdom by dissensions &c.'

17. When the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu* both suffering loss in a war, stop it by the conclusion of an armistice,* it is called *Sandhâyâsanam*.†

18. Even Râvana‡ the crusher of his foes, had recourse to the *Sandhâyâsanam*, offering Brahmâ§ as his hostage, when he had to fight with the Nivâtakavachas.||

19. When a monarch, thinking the *Udâsina* and the *Madhyama*¶ to be equal to himself in respect of power, awaits, mustering all his forces,** ready for an attack from either of them, it is called *Sambhuyâsanam*.

20. If the *Upayâsrita*†† desires the destruction of the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu*, being himself more powerful than they

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* For *Sandhâya Vâdasathânam* the commentator gives, *Sandhâya Samavasthânam*.

† *Sandhâyâsanam* etymologically means 'to stay a while, by concluding a peace.'

‡ Vide an earlier note and our translation of the Ramayana.

§ Brahman, in the Hindu mythologies, (and not in the Philosophies) is described as the creator, the first deity of the sacred Trinity. He is described to be very merciful and the only god who awards boons giving their receiver the least trouble. It was from Brahma (who is also called the grandfather of the gods) that Râvana obtained the boon of conditional immortality.

|| The Nivâtakavachas were a very powerful class of demons always delighting in harassing the gods. They were at last conquered by Kunti's son Arjuna one of the central figures of the great epic Mahabharata.

The allusion here is not so clear and well-known. What the commentary given is put in English for the information of the readers. There was once a war between Râvana and the Nivâtakavachas, in which the former was badly attacked and harassed by the latter. Râvana then concluded an armistice by offering Brahmâ, his family-preceptor, as a hostage.

¶ Vide note to Sloka 16th Section VIII.

** For *Sambhuyâsanam* the commentary reads *Upasambhâsanam* which is more intelligible and appropriate.

†† This is another name for the *Madhyama* who is so-called in consequence of his hostile attitude to both the *Ari* and *Vijigisu*.

both, he should be withstood by what is known as *Sangha-dharman.**

21. When a monarch desirous of going to a certain place (or person), halts through some contingency or other, at a place different from where he intended to go at first, it is called *Prasangásana* by those versed in the science of Polity.†

22. The (apparent) indifferent attitude of a king before an enemy more powerful than himself, is called *Upekshàsana.*‡ Indra§ treated with indifference the carrying off of the *Párijáta*‖ from him.

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* *Sanghadharman*—means 'to do an act in conjunction with others.' *Sangha* means 'together.' The commentary defines it—*Vahubhir Militwa ekakáryyakaranam* or 'the performance of an act by many united together.' The reading given above is suggested by the commentary in lieu of *Tatwadharman* which can have no possible meaning in this connection. There is another emendation introduced by the commentary in this part of the sloka which is *Sambhuyainam* for *Sambhuyena.*

† What the author means appears to be this :—A king marches out with a view to join one of his allies, or to crush one of his foes. But through some contingency or other, he is compelled to stop at a place quite different from where he intended to go. As this halt or stoppage *(Asana)* is the result of some contingency, it is called *Prasaugásana.*

‡ *Upeksháсana* means halt (or more properly here, want of active movements) seemingly the result of indifference, *i. e.* when a king finds that his foe is stronger than himself, he assumes an indifferent attitude, which in some measure goes to deter the latter whose confidence in his own efficiency receives a shaking.

§ Vide an earlier note. Indra and Upendra (Krishna) were said to be the two sons of the Rishi Kasyapa begotten upon Aditi. Upendra was more powerful than Indra.

‖ *Párijáta* is the name of one of the five trees obtained by the churning of the ocean. It was appropriated by Indra. The *Párijáta* flower is the most fragant and charming and is always described to be the favorite of the celestial damsels who love to put them on their hair-knots, and to wear garlands made of them.

The allusion here is as follows :—On one occasion Nárada the celestial sage, when wandering through the heavens was honored by Indra with

23. When again a king, through some other cause* being led to treat with indifference certain acts, remains inactive like Rukmin† (or does not have recourse to vigorous measures) it is called *Upekshasana*.‡

24. Hemmed§ in between two powerful enemies, a king

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a garland of the *Parijata* flowers. This garland he gave to Krishna who in his turn handed it over to Rukmini his beloved wife who was then near him. Then Narada who was very fond of brewing quarrels, went to Satyabhama another wife of Krishna, and related the incident to her, leaving her to conclude that she had been shamefully neglected by her husband who instead of giving the garland of *Parijata* to her, had given it to her rival. When Krishna came to her, she reprimanded and chided him and lamented piteously; whereupon Krishna promised to fetch for her the *Parijata* tree itself from heaven. He accordingly asked for it from Indra the lord of heaven who refused to part with it. A battle was thereupon fought and afterwards through the mediation of other gods, the *Parijata* tree was allowed to be transplanted into the garden of Satyabhama, and Indra was advised to treat that act of Krishna with indifference.

* Such as, affection, love, &c. Here the emendation given in the commentary must be accepted, which is *Anyena* for *Anyainà*.

† Rukmin was the son of Bhishmaka and brother of Rukmini one of the favorite wives of Krishna. Rukmini was at first betrothed by her father to Sisupala, but she secretly loved Krishna, and on the day of her marriage, according to a preconcerted plan, was snatched away by Krishna. Her brother Rukmin who was engaged to protect her did offer no resistance (the accounts here varies) but suffered her to be taken away, thus assuming an indifferent attitude for the love of his sister, although he might have successfully opposed Krishna.

‡ The translation given above has been adequately made free for lucidity's sake.

§ Having described what is known as *Asana*, the author proceeds to define *Dvaidhibhava*. It is also a mode of foreign policy defined in two different manners (a) double dealing or duplicity, keeping apparently friendly relations simultaneously with two adversaries; (b) dividing one's army and encountering a superior enemy in detachments; harassing the enemy by attacking them in small bands, something like the present guerrilla mode of fighting.

surrendering himself (to both) only in words* should like the crow's eye-ball,† carry on a double dealing without being detected by either of them.‡

25. (Of the two powerful foes) the one who is (dangerously) at hand,§ should be put off assiduously with empty promises.|| But if both of them assail him simultaneously, a king should surrender himself to the stronger of the two.¶

26. When** again both of them, seeing through his

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* What the author means is this: The assailed king should by all sorts of flattering speech make the assailant believe that he is entirely under his command. But really he should entertain no feelings of friendship for the latter. Long-sounding and empty words should be used to beguile the assailant only for the time being.

† The allusion referred to here is founded on a very curious belief current in this part of the world. But how far this beleif is correct, we can not say. It is supposed that the crow has only one eye ball (*c. f.* such words as *Ekadristi*, *Ekakshi*) which it moves as occasion requires from one socket to another. From this supposition a maxim of Nyáya-philosophy has obtained currency, which is applied to a word or phrase which though used only once in a sentence may if occasion requires serve two purposes. Naturalists should do well to ascertain whether or not there is any truth in the above belief.

‡ The author means to say that when a king is simultaneously assailed by two powerful adversaries, he should not surrender himself to either or exasperate either, but carry on a double dealing keeping apparently friendly relations with both; of course he should be careful as not be detected in his duplicity prematurely.

§ For *Sannikristaram* some read *Sanmikristamarim.*

|| The meaning of the author, as explained by the commentator is this: 'When a foe threatens immediate attack, he should be put off with promises of whatever he wishes the assailed to do. But those promises should never be fulfilled, as they are mere dodges to gain time.

¶ The last portion lit: translated would be 'should serve the stronger of the two.'

** This Sloka embodies the advice as to what should he done when the duplicity of a king is seen through by his foes. The first thing he should do then is to befriend a sovereign or sovereigns inimical to his foes. But in the absence of such parties, he should surrender himself to the stronger of the two.

double-dealing and becoming convinced of his duplicity, reject all overtures of peace, then he (the assailed king) should go over to (befriend) the enemies of them both; or if that is not possible, should seek shelter with the stronger of the two (as before).*

27. *Daidhibhava*† is of two kinds, *Swatantra* and *Paratantra*.‡ What has been described above is *Swatantra Daidhibhava*; *Paratantra Daidhibhava* is of him who receives remuneration from two kings inimical to each other.§

28. When‖ a king is assailed¶ by a very powerful**

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* The translation is free. The last portion of the Sloka is differently put in some texts, which does not materially affect the sense.

† For an explanation of this word refer to an earlier note. '*Daidha*' means 'double' and *bhava* the state or condition.

‡ The meaning of the author is not so clear. The kinds of *Daidhibhava* mentioned by him do not tally with the two classes explained by us in a previous note; the commentator offers some explanation which also is not comprehensive. We suggest below what seems best to us. *Swatantra* means independent. Hence *Swatantra daidhibhava* would mean the duplicity of a king who for effecting his own safety has recourse to it, not under anybody's instructions but out of his free and independent will. He has not been deputed by others to play a double game and to ascertain the purposes of both the assailing monarchs. *Paratantra* means 'dependent.' Hence this kind of *Daidhibhava* is the double dealing that spies practise being commissioned by their employers. The double game which servants in obedience to the orders of their masters play, is *Paratantra daidhibhava*, which does not bring any direct personal benefit to them. The commentary explains:—"the *Daidhibhava* of an independent person is *Swatantra* and that of a dependent person is *Paratantra*.

§ For *Upapalabdana* of the text which is quite unintelligible in this context, the commentary gives *Upayandana* which we cannot but accept.

‖ The author now proceeds to describe another mode of policy which is known as *Samsraya* or seeking protection at others' hand.

¶ The text word rendered literally would be, 'in the course of being exterminated or destroyed.'

** The commentary explains, '*Upachita Saktimata*' i. e. one possessing *Saktis* swelled to the highest degree.

enemy and has no other means or measure open to him to avert the calamity, then and then only,* should he seek protection from one who comes from a noble family and is truthful, generous and highly powerful.†

29. To assume worshipful attitude‡ at the sight of his protector, to be always at one with his protector in his thoughts and purposes§, to do alll his works for him and to be obedient to him|| these are said to be the duties of one who seeks shelter with another.

A. ¶Being attached to his protector as if to his own preceptor,** the protected should pass some time†† with the

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* The stress put on this part of the sentence is advised; for, as the commentator points out, when there is any other means whatsoever for self-preservation available to a king he should not throw himself at the mercy of other kings, inasmuch as "*Mahādosahí vísistavalasamàgma Rájnám*" *i. e.* for kings to implore highly powerful rivals (for protection) is the source of great evils.

† This king must be more powerful than the assailant.

‡ Such as bows, obeisance, salamas, &c.

§ *Tatbhàvabhávita* lit: means to be inspired with his thoughts and sentiments. Whatever the protector would think or intend to do, must also occupy for the time being the attention and thought of the protected. In this way the latter would be able to ingratiate himself into the favor of his protector, who if satisfied with him might give him his independence back.

|| *Prasarayita* lit: means, "courteous and polite in behaviour," or "bearing affection or love for the protector." The obedience must be one of love and not of fear.

¶ Some twenty-two Slokas have been omitted here in the printed book; of these fifteen come within the 11th Section of the Manuscript copy and seven fall in the next. The Slokas marked A. B. &c. are the wanting Slokas.

** That is, for the time being he should behave towards his protector as if he were his spiritual preceptor, who is the person deserving the highest esteem and respect at the hand of the *Mantra Sisyas* or "pupils of sacred initiation."

†† That is, live for some time with the protector, just as a Brahmana

former like one very meek and gentle.* Then gaining strength† by such association, he should once more become independent.

B. Not‡ to remain without a refuge,§ a king should seek it with the peace-breaking‖ assailant by surrendering to him his army or his treasury or his lands or the products of the lands.¶

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lives with his preceptor for a time after his investiture with the sacred thread.

* The commentator says that the meekness and humility should only be outward and not the outcome of any real affection or feeling. We do not agree with the commentator here, in as much as affection and love have been said to be the feeling that the *protected* should entertain towards the protector.

† The text word is "*Paripurna*" which lit. means "filled in the highest degree." Here as the commentator states, it means "swelling with strength and powers." What the author means is that while living under the protection of a stronger sovereign, the army and resources of the protected would gain strength and become numerous everyday; for meanwhile no strain would be put on them. Some substitute *Purnasakti* for *Paripurna*; this reading makes the text clear as day-light.

‡ The author now lays down the course of action to be adopted in case of the absence of a protector possessed of the qualifications enumerated by him hereinbefore.

§ The word is *Anapásraya*; *Apásraya* means "without a refuge." Hence *Anapásraya* means 'not without a refuge.' The author wants to say that a monarch threatened by a powerful adversary should not remain without a protector and in the absence of a good one he should choose the very assailant. The advisability of the principle is apparent for, a king whose weakness is once betrayed, becomes like a piece of meat which all hawks pounce upon.

‖ The original word is Visandhim i. e. one who violates the provisions of a peace or treaty, and acts in contravention of it. Some read *Visandhis* here.

¶ According to the commentator the "products of the land" are the rents and revenues flowing into the imperial exchequer. But *Bhumisambhava* certainly has a wider significance.

C. Involved in difficulties,* all these things (army treasury, lands, products of lands, &c.,) should be given up simultaneously for the preservation of the self.† For, living, there is every chance of regaining the kingdom‡ at the end, like king Yudhisthira.§

D. 'To a living man joy shall come, even if it be after the lapse of a century,' is a blessed verse said to be very commonly known.‖

E. For the sake of one's family some particular person

* The Sanskrit word is *Arta* which means "distressed." The commentator takes it to mean, 'oppressed and assailed'; the difficulties must be such as to threaten the safety of life and limb.

† It will be pertinent to note here that the principle of self-preservation was not only the key note of Hindu polity but also of Philosophy Numerous saws and sayings can be quoted in support. Even the author's preceptor the celebrated Chanakya has said so in one of his slokas. *c. f.* 'Always preserve yourself in preference to your wives and wealth.' The principle is not the outcome of abject selfishness but of the belief (which is right) that self is the source all happiness, spiritual and earthly, and is instrumental in achieving religious merit.

‡ The word in the original is *Vasundhará* which means lit: that which contains treasures. It is a special epithet of the earth; it was given to her as treasures were supposed to remain within her bowels. Here of course it means "a kingdom swelling with prosperity."

§ King Yudhisthira, the eldest son of Pandu, after having suffered numerous wrongs and injuries at the hands of his cousins, the Kouravas who for a time deprived him of his lawful inheritance to the throne, obtained it back after a severe battle extending over eighteen days. The reader is referred to our translation of the Mahabharata. For the last line of the sloka the following is substituted by the commentator "*Yudhisthira Jigàyàdou Punarjiban Vasundharàm.*"

‖ What the author says is this that there is a verse full of significance known to very body that if a man lives he is sure to have joy even after the lapse of a hundred years. The author wants to impress the fact that the lot of man cannot be uniformly miserable or happy. This existence has aptly been called checquered. Weal and woe come to man as if revoling on a wheel. A man surviving the misries and sufferings of life is sure to reap joy at last. Hence the necessity of self-preservation.

should be forsaken, for the sake of his village the family should be forsaken, for the sake of the country his village should be forsaken and lastly (if need be) the earth should be forsaken after due deliberation (for self-preservation).*

F. †When his own strength increases or when some calamity‡ threatens his foe (the assailant with whom he has sought shelter), the (protected) king should fall upon his former, or acquiring power, he should smite his foe down by means of *Saimha vritti*.§

G. Never rush into an union either with a stronger or a weaker rival king without sufficient cause or reason; for in such union there is danger of losing men, money and munitions and of being treacherously treated.‖

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* The author now institutes a comparison among the several aspects that is likely to clash against one another. If the king finds that his family will suffer in consequence of his friendship to a certain individual, he should forsake him. And in this way he should even give up his territory in the interests of his self-preservation. This last measure of course must be had recourse to after need and mature deliberation. Here also, as before, the maxim is that, self-preservation is the best of all virtues.

† The author now describes how the shelter-seeking king is to effect his liberation. After a period of servility during which he should try to strengthen his position and watch opportunities, he should fall suddenly upon his protector and crush him.

‡ The commentator takes *Vyasana* to mean here 'excessive fondness for wine and women and gambling &c., but we take it to mean '*Vipat* or calamity.'

§ *Sainha* means etymologically 'pertaining to the lion' (*Sinha*) or lion-like and *vritti* means conduct. The lion before taking the leap upon his prey musters all strength and strains all his nerves. So a king before falling upon his foe should gather all his strength and leave no stone unturned to crown his effort with success. Earnest endeavour ever meets with the desired result. The last part admits of another construction which is as follows, "Acquiring strength by *Sinhavritti* a king should assail his enemy."

‖ The rendering is free. The author advises against hasty unions, pointing out the dangers thereof.

H. Even going to a father for union, a king should not believe him! The wicked when the good confide on them, almost always play these latter false.*

I. These are the six *gunas* or the modes of foreign policy.† But some say that there are only two *Gunas*, *Yâna* and *Asana* falling within the category of *Vigraha*, and the rest *(Daidhibhâva* and *Asraya)* being other forms of *Sandhi* only.

J. In as much as the assailant king marches *(Yâna)* and halts (*Asana*) in course of a war *(Vigraha)*, accordingly *Yâna* and *Asana* have been described by the wise as forms of *Vigraha*.‡

K. And in as much as, without the conclusion of some sort of a peace, double-dealing *(Daidhibhâva)* and shelter-seeking *(Samsraya)* are not possible, therefore these two also are said by the wise to be merely other forms of peace.§

L. Whatever is done after the conclusion of some sort of a peace is surely to be reckoned as a form of peace *(Sandhi)*; and whatever is done after the declaration of a war is certainly to be considered as a part of the war *(Vigraha)*.

M. Those who hold that there are only two *Gunas* or modes of foreign policy, specify them to be only *Sandhi* (peace) and *Vigraha* (war). But others again hold that there

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* The last part lit: would be, 'when the good come to confide on the wicked they generally injure the former.

† The author concludes. The six modes are, *Sandhi*, *Vigraha*, *Yâna*, *Asana*, *Daidhibhâva* and *Asraya*.

‡ *Yàna* and *Asana* are strickly speaking operations included in wars. It is in a war that a king marches, halts or lays seige to his enemy's territories.

§ Unless there is some kind of a union between two parties, one cannot play the other false, nor can one seek refuge from the other. It is only when mutual agreement exists that they can have any dealing between them.

are three *Gunas* namely the above two (*Sandhi* and *Vigraha*) and *Samsraya*.*

N. When oppressed by a powerful assailant, a king is obliged to seek protection from another more powerful than the former, it is called *Samsraya*; the other forms of union are said to be *Sandhi* (Peace).† Thus said Vrihaspati.

O. Strictly speaking there is only one *guna*, viz., *Vigraha* (war). *Sandhi* (Peace) and the others come out of it; and therefore these latter are only the results of the former (*Vigraha*). Modified according to circumstances (and stage) the one *guna* *Vigraha* multiplies itself into the six *gunas*. [This is the opinion of our own preceptor.‡]

P. A king,§ conversant with the nature of the six *gunas*,|| possessing spies¶ and versed in consulta-

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* This latter class of politicians do not include *Samsraya* or shelter-seeking in *Sandhi*, hence the difference.

† Vrihaspati the preceptor of the celestials (Vide note to Sloka 8 Section I.) draws a distinction between *Sandhi* and *Samsraya*. That form of union, if it may be called an union at all, that a weak king is compelled to effect with a stronger one, in order to save himself from the persecution of a strong foe, is called *Samsraya*; whereas *Sandhi* is concluded between two contending parties, the assailed and the assailant.

‡ As the reader is aware, the author's preceptor is Chanakya. The fifteen Slokas that have been said to be included within the 10th Section of the Manuscript copy end here. In the Manuscript the 11th Section begins with the next Sloka.

§ Having finished his disquisition on the six modes of foreign policy, the author now proceeds to impress the necessity of holding consultation and counsel. As in these days, so in the past, councils used to be held before any king proceeded to do anything. It was after mature deliberation that any project was taken in hand.

|| The original word lit. rendered would be, one whose understanding has comprehended aright the nature of the six *gunas*, and who has no doubt left about their working, employment &c.

¶ The text-word is *Gunaprachchhadhi*, *Gunahprachchhana* are they whose movements (*Prachhana*) are secret and ununderstood by others. Hence the word has come to mean 'Secret emissaries, and spies.' These

tion* should hold counsel regarding some secret plan or affair with his ministers skilful in offering advice.

Q. A king conversant with the nature of counsel† reaps prosperity easily, and one of a contrary nature even if he be independent is put down by his learned (rivals).‡

R. Just as Rakshasas destroy a sacrifice in which the *mantras* (sacred hymns) used are attended with flaws, so his enemies destroy a king from all sides whose *mantra* (counsels) is bad.§ Therefore one should be very careful about his counsels.

S. Counsel about state affairs should be held with trnst-worthy|| as well as learned¶ persons. But a trustworthy fool, so also a learned but untrustworthy person should be avoided.

T. (In matters of counsel) a king should not deviate from the *Shastra*-approved path, by which pious men of the past, whose actions were ever crowned with success and who ever trod the road of rectitude, travelled to success.

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will keep the king informed of the state of affairs in his own as well as in his enemies' dominions, thus helping considerably in arriving at right conclusions in his deliberations.

* *Mantrajna* means one who know *Mantra*; this last word has been explained elaborately by the commentator. Any secret consultation about the interests of the kingdom is called *Mantra*.

† The text word means lit: "one who knows how to hold consultations and how to profit by them."

‡ The original word is *Vidwatvi* which means "by the learned." For *Avabhuyate* some read *Avadhuyate*.

§ The Rakshasas being evil doers are as a race inimical to the performance and spread of religious acts. They watch opportunities for doing evil and whenever there is the least flaw in the *Mantras*, &c. of a sacrifice, they speedily destroy it. There is a pun upon the two meanings of the word *Mantra* here.

|| *Apta* may also mean, a relative or one in some way related to the king. This meaning is also applicable here.

¶ By 'learned,' the commentary means 'sound politicians.'

IV. A monarch, who disregarding the rules contained in the *Shastras** suddenly† falls upon a foe, never returns without feeling the sharp edge of this latter's sword.‡

V. The power of good counsel is superior to powers of energy and dignity.§ Witness the case of *Kavya*,‖ who though possessed of dignity and energy, was foiled by the priest of the celestials¶ by means of his power of counsel.

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* The phrase in the original (as rendered) would be—going astray from the foot-prints impressed in the Shastras; this indeed is metaphorical.

† That is, without mature deliberation.

‡ That is, 'fails to feel great pain, the sword-cuts of the enemy which means nothing short of death.' There are several changes of reading in this Sloka, which for their minority we omit to note.

§ The author now lays stress on the superiority of the *Mantra Sakti* over the other two *Saktis*, viz., *Prabhu* and *Utsaha*. *Prabhutwa* is explained by the commentator to mean 'power originating from the possession of an efficient army and a well-filled treasury.'

‖ Kavya is another name of Sukra who was the preceptor of the Asuras (Vide note to Sloka 8 Section I).

¶ The allusion referred to is as follows:—In their long warfare with the Asuras, the gods were sometimes worsted and rendered quite helpless. But each of the Demons as would be slain in battle were restored to life by Sukra, their preceptor, by means of his mantras or mystic charms, which he alone possessed. Seeing this, the preceptor of the gods resolved to secure this charm if possible, and so he sent his own son Kacha to Sukra in order that he might learn it from him by becoming his pupil. So Kacha went to Sukra; but the demons fearing lest he should master the lore, murdered him and mixed his ashes with Sukra's beverage and offered him as a drink to their preceptor. Kacha was drank in by Sukra. But at the intercession of his daughter Devayani, who had fallen in love with the youth, Sukra resolved to restore Kacha in to life. He instructed Kacha in the mystic charm, when he was within his bowels and then ordered him to come out. Kacha accordingly came out tearing open the abdomen of his preceptor who died in consequence. But now Kacha restored him to life by means of the same charm he had learned from him. Kacha then returned to the gods and used his learning in their benefit. Thus Vrihaspati by his power of counsel got the better of Sukra. The last portion of the history as given

30. A lion untaught in the lessons of polity kills the elephant only through his superior physical strength.* And an intelligent and learned† man succeeds even in taming and subjugating hundreds of such lions.‡

31. An act maturely deliberated upon by learned men, who can read§ a coming event (from a distance) and who always reap success by the employment of commendable means, can never fail to bear fruit.

32. By proper means,|| a king should desire to obtain his ends; considering (the advantages or otherwise of) the times, he should fall upon an enemy.¶ Over-much reliance on valour and energy** often-times becomes the source of repentance.††

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by the commentator is not to be found in the mythologies. It is said that when Kacha was restored to life he resisted the advances of Devayani, Sukra's daughter, who thereupon cursed him saying that the charm he had learnt would be powerless at his hands.

* The first of the sentences is intended to impress upon the readers mind the strength and brute force of a lion. These are of no avail against the cultured intelligence and cleverness of a man who foils them by means of his schemes &c.

† That is, one who is possessed of *Mantra Sakti*.

‡ The first part of the sloka bristles with bad readings, for which the commentary reads,

"*Asikshitanayas Singha Hantivam Kevalam Valát,*"

This reading we have accepted.

§ The word in the text is "who can see."

|| The original word is *Upáya* which means, the measures of policy to be used against a foe, viz conciliation &c (vide an earlier note).

¶ The commentator explains, 'should march against him.'

** The original phrase lit: translated would be, "one who knows the taste of only one liquor viz *Vikrama* or power."

†† What the author means to say is, that mere power, energy or valour, whatever it might be called, is not sufficient to secure success in any undertaking. The advantages of time and policy cannot safely be overlooked; those who overlook them and think that unaided *Vikrama* will give them success, and act accordingly, reap only grief and disappointment for their pains.

33. A distinction must always be made between what is capable of being done and what is not so, by the light of a serene intelligence. The butting of a elephant against a rock, results only in the breaking of its tusks.*

34. What fruit save distress can there be in store for him who undertakes an impracticable act? What mouthful, indeed, can he expect to get, who tries to snatch a mouthful from (empty) space?‡

35. Fall not on fire even like (foolish) insects; Touch only that which can be touched (with safety)! What indeed does an insect falling on fire reap but (thorough) burning!

36. The dangers attending the acts of one endeavouring, out of foolishness, to get things difficult to attain, are sure to bring sorrow in their train.§

37. By the employment of knowledge proportionate to the thing to be known,‖ a person whose steps are well-calculated,¶ attains to the pitch of prosperity as high as the highest summit of a mountain.

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* What the author means is this that before undertaking a thing a king should judge whether it is at all capable of being done or not. To try to do an act incapable of being done, is as useless, and attended with danger, as the butting of an elephant with its tusks against a rock.

† This Sloka virtually consists of three Slokas, its two lines being the first and last of a series of Slokas; but there have been omitted after the first line here. We translate the three Slokas in order to preserve the continuity of thought; the numbers of the Slokas change accordingly.

‡ The second line as given in the commentary literally rendered will be "How can he who wants to taste space, have a mouthful." A man trying to bite off a portion of space can have no mouthful.

§ A man trying to get things difficult to obtain, vainly repents for his mad endeavours afterwards.

‖ The commentary reads *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*. The original lit: rendered will be "by intelligence guided by knowledge or prudence."

¶ The original lit: translated will be, as the commentator says 'one whose footsteps are pure.'

38. The status of royalty is a thing very difficult to ascend to and is done homage to by all persons. Like sacerdotal dignity,* it is blotted with stains at any the slightest transgression.

39. Acts (such as acquisition and preservation of territory) undertaken by kings conversant with the nature of *Asanas*, in perfect conformity to the rules of polity, ere long, like (good) trees† yield desirable fruits.

40. An act duly (in conformity to the prescribed rules) undertaken, even if it fails to bear fruit, does not become so much the cause of distress as the one begun out of foolishness.‡

41. When an act commenced in the right way is followed§ by results contrary (to all expectations), the performer is not to blame, in as much as his manliness there is handicapped by fate.||

42. In order to secure success, a man of pure intelligence should (in the first instance) put forth his exertions, the rest lies with Fate which can cut him short at any stage.

43. A wise *Vijigisu* after critically reviewing his own

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* The Sanskrit word is *Brahmanya* or the character or position of Brahmana.

† The word in the text is *Vana* or forest.

‡ What the author means is this—a foolish act brings greater sorrows on its performer than the one which though ultimately barren has been commenced in the proper manner.

§ For *Atut* the commentary reads *Ati* which change is in dispensably necessary ; this part lit : rendered will be "If when only commenced, an act meets with reverse results."

|| This part literally translated will be, "whose manliness is separated from him by Fate." After this, one Sloka is again omitted of which the translation is given below :—

"Just as a chariot cannot move on one wheel, so Destiny unaided by human exertion can yield no fruit." Luck and labour must go hand in hand ; the one apart from the other is a dead stock.

condition* as well as that of his enemies, should set out on an expedition. This—that is to know his own as well as his foe's strength or weakness, is to be conversant with the essentials of good counsel.

44. An intelligent politician should never do an act that would be totally barren, or attended with great dangers, or about the success of which there would be any doubts, or that would bring inveterate hostility in its train.

45. An act unblamable at the time of its being done and in all times to come, pure and performed in the proper manner, and bestowing innumerable blessings (both here and hereafter),† such an act is always praised by the pious.

46. An act that would be attended with uninterrupted good and that would bring no blame on its performer, such an act should be engaged in, although for the time being it might not be agreeable.‡

47. To crown an act with success, it is always better to have recourse to one's knowledge of means, from the very beginning. Sometimes one who is always successful§ may have recourse to the conduct of a lion.||

48. The acquisition of wealth¶ from wicked persons

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* The things he is to look to are, as the commentator says, the three *Saktis*, the advantages of the season and soil, the signs of coming victory or defeat indicated by planets, birds &c.

† Literally translated will be—bringing a chain of good.

‡ The commentary explains this portion otherwise. It says—'although for the time being it does not bring any friendship with it.'

§ The original word if translated would be "who is the friend of success."

|| That is 'violent means.' The author means to say that knowledge is a more powerful agent than violence in bringing about success. But sometimes 'violence' may be used also. There are several minor changes in reading suggested by the commentator.

¶ The word is Sampat i.e. wealth in the shape of territory or treasures or any thing else.

by precipitate assault* is ever difficult. But with the help of the measures of policy, one can plant his feet even on the head of an infuriate elephant.†

49. Here (in the earth of ours) there is nothing that is incapable of being achieved by the learned and wise.‡ Metals (such as iron &c) are known to be incapable of being penetrated; but by suitable (scientific) measures (heating &c) they also are liquified.§

50. A (unsharpened) piece of iron carried on the shoulder does not cut it at all. But as soon as it is sharpened a little, it is turned into a means for fulfilling desirable|| ends (such as, slaughter of foes &c).

51. That water extinguishes fire is a fact well known on earth. But assisted by the employment of proper measures, fire can also desicate water up.¶

52. Poison is incapable of being taken internally and when it is taken so, it produces fatal results. But even poi-

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* Without taking into consideration the nature of the Season and Soil. The author means that rash, inconsiderate attacks are seldom attended with success.

† This sloka is differently read in many other texts.

‡ Lit: there is no such thing that is beyond the abilities of the wise as regards its performance.

§ The refrain is the same as before, that policy is better than violence. *Avedyam* may have another meaning *vis* diamond. The translation then will be, "even metals and diamonds (the hardest of things known) are melted by proper measures.

|| The appropriateness of the Sloka in this connection may be questioned. Although it seems out of place, its bearing to the present discourse is thus sought to be established by the commentator. So long as the piece of iron is unsharpened *i. e.* so long as no measuse has been taken to turn it into usefulness, it cannot cut, but as soon as by some means or other it is sharpened, it becomes a very useful weapon. It is in the means employed to turn it into usefulness lies the true worth of the thing.

¶ The text omits this Sloka.

son being mixed with other things and ingredients is turned into and used as a medicine.

53. To know what is unknown,* to decide and resolve upon what is already known, to dissipate the doubts about any doubtful subject and to know the rest of a thing when only a part of it is known,—these should be the duties of ministers.

54. Abiding by the rules laid down by wise politicians, a person should never contemn or despise any body. He should hear every body's words for culling salutary counsels out of them.

55. The acquisition of unacquired things and the protection of things already acquired,—these are the two fields in which the ingenuity and prowess of the Vijigisu should be exercised.

56. The magnificence and luxuries a successful sovereign are really a beauty, but these are mockeries in respect of a king who has never been successful (victorious over his foes).†

57. ‡The king, who arrogant and foolish in his acts, crosses his own ministers, is himself soon crossed§ by his enemies, his counsels being totally futile.

58. The seed of counsel should be carefully preserved, inasmuch as it is the seed of kings.‖ The destruction of the seed of counsel¶ is always followed by the destruction

* The minister should collect information regarding unknown things by means of spies and secret emissaries.

† This and the previous Sloka are not to be found in the original before us. The first line of the first Sloka is sometimes differently read.

‡ The translation is free.

§ That is, as the commentator says, defeated and despoiled of his kingdom.

‖ Counsel is here compared to a seed out of which the tree of royalty grows.

¶ Which means, the betrayal or breach of counsel.

of the kings; while it preservation preserves them excellently.*

59. Himself acting like a lion and conversant with policy, the monarch's acts should only be known to his family members, when they are in a fare way of being done, and to others when they are already accomplished.†

60. The wise hold as commendable such counsel that is desirable, that does not entail future sorrow,‡ that yields a series of good results in long succession§ and that does not extend over a long period ||

61. A *Mantra* or counsel is said to consist of five parts *viz.*, support, means to ends, division of time and country, averting of calamities and final success.¶

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* That is the preservation of strict secrecy regarding counsels is of vital importance in the preservation of a kingdom.

† The commentator explains:—A lion, when enraged, invisibly concentrates all its energy before it takes the final spring. So also should a king do. The author means to say the movements and plans of a king should not even be known to the members of his own family before they are actually put into action. Strict secrecy should be imposeed here and in all other matters of state.

‡ That does not become the cause of future repentance.

§ The commentary here substitute *Anuvandhifalaprada* for *Anuraktifalaprada*, which latter means 'good results in the shape of the good will of the subjects.'

|| A counsel extending over a long period is in greater danger of being betrayed than one extending over a short while.

¶ What the author means is that when any deliberation or counsel is to be held regarding any undertaking, these things namely the support in the shape of men, munition and magnificence, the means, the advantages or otherwise of time and territory, the advent of any unforeseen event and final success, should be given the best considertion to. The king should see whether he is well supported, whether his means are efficient enough, whether the advantages of soil and season are in his favor, whether there is change for any untoward event to cut him short and whether there is any doubt about the final success. The fifth or last part is not mentioned in the text.

62. When an act is at all undertaken, it should be duly accomplished; when it has not been begun, it should be at once taken in hand; and when it is accomplished, its results should be made permanent and enduring by commendable means.*

63. Persons, conversant with the nature and importance of counsel,† should be directed to hold consultation about the measure to be employed for performing a certain act;‡ and that measure regarding which in their minds agree, should be had recourse to, as soon as possible.

64. Acts regarding which the minds of the counsellors agree§ and do not entertain any misgiving,‖ acts which are not blamed by the pious,—only such acts should be undertaken.

65. When any counsel has been duly resolved upon by the ministers, it should again be seriously weighed by the king himself (in order to avoid flaws and faults). A wise¶

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* The author has specified the primary duties of ministers. They should direct the accomplishment of all undertakings; they should take new undertakings into hand; they should turn into advantage works or acts already done.

† The original word as explained by the commentator, includes ministers, spies and emissaries of kings.

‡ The text word is *Káryyadwáram* which the commentator thus explains—"the door by which such business, as taking of the enemy's &c., comes." What he means to say is that spies and ambassadors and ministers should watch the movements of the foe and [illegible] &c., and at the right moment should fall upon them, employing measures agreed upon by all. We take the word to mean, the means to an end. The translation is free.

§ That is "where there is no difference of opinion."

‖ It is believed that the mind can intuitively become aware of the probable failure of an undertaking. It feels hesitation and there is some sort of a trepidation in it.

¶ The text word is *Tattwajna* for which the commentator substitutes *Mantrajnas* or shrewd counsellor.

monarch should so conduct himself as not to prejudice his own interests in the least.

66. Ministers, for the advancement of their own interests, desire a prolonged campaign. A king that protracts his business over a considerable length of time, becomes a puppet in the hands of his ministers.*

67. Cheerfulness of the mind, earnestness, the quickened condition of the sense-organs,† united action with the supporters and allies, and a prosperous state of affairs, these are signs that indicate coming success

68. Rapidly-working, uninterrupted antecedents, prolific of sources of prosperity, are antecedents that foretell the success of an undertaking or act.

69. A counsel should be again and again discussed (before it is finally disposed of); it should strictly be preserved (kept secret) with scrupulous zeal. A counsel carelessly kept, being prematurely divulged, destroys the king (concerned) even like fire itself.‡

70. A counsel that has not yet found its way among the people, should be mutually preserved (by the king, the ministers, spies, &c.) A counsel that is not scrupulously preserved, is given publicity to, by the friends and relatives (of the counselors).§

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* This part is freely translated.

† This is brought about only when a man expects something which will be pleasing to him. When some adverse result is expected the senses become dull and apathetic.

‡ This sloka is substituted in the commentary for sloka 64 of the text.

§ It is no use trying to keep a cousel secret that has once been given air to. The counselors concerned should help one another in preserving its secrecy. It should not be trusted even to a friend or a relative, who in his turn may also communicate it to his friend. Thus it will be trumpeted over the town and reach the enemy's camp. This sloka is omitted in the text.

71. Inebriation, inadvertence, anger,* talk during sleep, courtezans (cherished with too much confidence)† and creatures who are despised or looked upon with indifference,‡ these sometimes divulge a counsel prematurely.§

72. A king should hold counsel in a place on the roof of his palace or in a forest where there are no pillars (to re-sound the conversation), no windows (to let the speeches go out) and no nook or corner (to conceal an inquisitive eaves-dropper).‖ He should also see that he is not watched by any body.

73. A room which has no loop-holes or out-lets, which is situated in a secluded spot, where there is no fear of eaves-hearing enemies, or no strong breeze, or no pillars or no frequent coming and going of men,—in such a room, a prosperous king, having purified himself¶ should hold his councils.

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* The text word is (*Mana*) which the commentary substitutes by *Kopa*.

† Another meaning is possible viz women having excessive influence over their husbands *i.e.*, females whose husbands are henpecked.

‡ These creatures are never suspected of being able to take notice of any thing. So, one talks carelessly before them; hence are said of parrots and other birds, which hearing a man talk, imitate him, and as soon as a stranger steps in, repeats his words. Indian tale-parrots are said to possess intelligence equal to that of men.

§ The author wants to say that when a man is extremely drunk, or when he is careless, or when he is angry, or if he has the habit of talking in sleep, he is liable to disclose his counsels against his will. A courtezan, or a female too much confided upon, often gives air to a secret, which her lover out of fondness might have told to her.

‖ For the text word, the commentator substitutes, *Nishkasanta-tarasamsraya* which reading we have accepted.

¶ Purification of the body before going to do something important, is considered to add to the powers of the mind, which belief can not be looked upon as puerile in view of the subtle and inexplicable relations between the material and the psychical. This sloka is omitted in the text.

74. Manu says, twelve, Vrihaspati says sixteen, and Usanas says twenty, ministers should form a cabinet.*

75. Others again say that as many good and deserving counselors as are available (lit : possible), should be admitted into the cabinet.† Duly entering the cabinet and with mind (attention) undivided, a king should hold counsel for facilitating the success of an act or understanding.‡

76. Some say that for a particular act or mission, a king should engage ministers to the number of five, seven or more, all severally entrusted with several portions or charges.§

77. A king seeking his own welfare should discuss the subject of a consultation severally with each of his ministers; after which, he should take into his serious consideration (or weigh in his judgment)|| the opinion of each by itself.¶

78. A king should, after having weighed the opinion of other counsellors, act upon that counsel that should be proffered by a highly intelligent, well-wishing and numerously-supported minister who ever acts in conformity to the Shastras.

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* *Mantra* in the last compound word of the text is a misprint for *Mantri*.

† This part is freely rendered for lucidity's sake. What the author says is that there is no hard and fast rule regarding the number of ministers to be taken into consultation. Really deserving men should be selected and heard.

‡ For *Yathá* in the first line and *Karyyasidhi* in the second, some read *Tathá* and *Karyyabhudhi*.

§ What the author means is this. Several ministers should be entrusted to carry on particular work. The portions of the work should again be divided among them according to their capabilities. In one word, the writer advocates the principle of "Division of labour" here as elsewhere. This sloka does not occur in the text.

|| Lit: "Enter into" hence, comprehend &c.

¶ The first line is vicious, for which the commentator substitutes :

Akaikena hi Kàryyáni Subichâryya punaspunas.

79. Having once formed a resolution,* never let the proper time for carrying it into action pass away. But when in some way or other, that time is past, the resolution should again be formed anew in due manner.

80. An intelligent prince should never let slip the season for doing any action, for, combination of circumstances favourable to an act is to be found very seldom.†

81. Following the footsteps of the pious, an intelligent king should carry out his projects in proper season. Exerting in the right way and in the right time, he enjoys the delicious fruits of his actions.

82. Viewing carefully the dark and the bright side of his project, a king, with the advantages of time and place in his favour, and supported by his faithful allies, should fall upon things (such as town and villages) calculated to conduce to his aggrandisement. He should never be rash in his acts.‡

83. A rash prince, without judging the strength or otherwise of his foes, and arrogantly thinking "I am the most powerful" and disregarding the (salutary) counsel of his ministers, attacks his enemies only to meet his own fall; such a prince is narrow-minded and impudent and knows not what he does.

84. He only who mistakes evil for good and whose understanding is shallow, disregards the counsel of his ministers. A rash king attacking rashly, is soon entangled in inextricable difficulties.

85. Thus an energetic monarch betaking to a course of

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* Lit.: "having once decided upon a certain course" i.e., when a definite conclusion has been arrived at, regarding a counsel.

† The author here points out the soundness of the saying—"Delay is dangerous."

‡ The translation is a free one. Several minor changes of reading is noticed in the commentary.

true policy, should, by the power of his counsel* bring into subjection his foes resembling vicious snakes.

Thus ends the eleventh section, the dissertation on counsels, in the Nitisara of Kamandaka.

SECTION XII.

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1. HAVING previously held the necessary counsel a wise† king should depute to the monarch against whom he intends to march, an ambassador confident of his special abilities,‡ whose selection would be approved by the cabinet.§

2. A person, dauntless,|| accurate in memory, eloquent, accomplished in arms and in the *Shastras*, and well-exercised in all sorts of works, such a person only deserves to be a king's ambassador.

3. Ambassadors are said to be of three kinds, *viz.*, those invested with full powers; ¶ those with restricted powers** and those merely carrying the errands of their masters.†† In

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* There is a pun on the word *Mantra* which means both counsel and charms and incantations for taming snakes.

† Lit: "Skilful in counsel."

‡ Lit: "Proud of his missionary powers." The text is vicious, for which the commentary gives *doutyabhimàninam.*

§ Another meaning is suggested by the annotator *viz.*, one among the ministers who selected by the rest.

|| The original word is *Pragalva.*

¶ That is a plenipotentiary, such was Krishna when he was deputed by Yudhisthira to negotiate with king Dhuryodhana.

** This class of ambassadors, as the commentator says, can do nothing of their own accord. Thier conduct is prescribed for them by their soveriegn, whose orders they are unable to put aside.

†† These are ordinary messengers who merely repeat what they are instructed by their masters, and nothing more or less.

respect of rank, the latter are inferior to the former respectively, in consequence of the smallness of the powers vested in them.*

4. In accordance with the commands of his master, an ambassador, after (mature) deliberation as to the effect† of his contemplated measures upon the dominions of his king, and on those of his enemies, should go to (visit) those latter one after another.

5. He should befriend the frontier‡ as well as the forest tribes, and should find out the inland and navigable communications and easy routes, all for facilitating the unimpeded progress and march of his (master's) army.

6. He should not enter the enemy's city or the court without knowing its whereabouts.§ He should, for accomplishing his purpose, wait for opportunities, and when permitted, enter the foe's territory.

7. He should inform himself about the stability of the foe's kingdom, about his forts and castles and their defences and defects, and also his army, allies and treasuries.

8. He should deliver the orders of his master, word per word, even if weapons be raised (to smite him down).|| He should also apprise himself of the loyalty or

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* The last portion is not so clear. What the author means seems to be that in respect of rank a plenipotentiary is superior to an ambassador with limited powers and so on. But this is self-evident.

† For this compound some substitute [illegible], which means 'his own as well as others' words.' This change of reading is not necessary.

‡ The word in the text is a misprint for *Antapála*.

§ Two explanations of the text-word are given in the commentary. The one embodied in the translation is not, as it appears to us appropriate; the other is 'unknown and unpermitted by the enemy.' This strengthens the emphasis in the last portion; what the author means is this,—that an ambassador should not like a spy covertly enter an enemy's dominions but should do so with his (the enemy's) permission.

|| What the author means is that the ambassador should not be more

disloyalty of the enemy's subjects (by watching their movements of the face and hands &c).

9. He should not let any one else know the disaffection* of the enemy's *prakritis* (subjects) towards their master, but should himself, unpercievably do what he would think fit to do.†

10. Even when questioned on the subject, (by the inimical sovereign) he should not speak anything about the disaffection (or weakness) of the *Prakritis* of his own lord, but should in flattering‡ language say—"Your majesty knows everything well."

11. He should eulogise the enemy in four ways—by comparing him with the V*ijigisu*, (*i.e.*, the ambassador's masters) in respect of his high lineage, his fame, his substantiality, and his commendable deeds.§

12. Coming into contact with the treacherous|| element of the enemy's state under the pretence of instructing them in the four branches of learning and the five arts, he should (with their help) know the former's movements as also which party could be easily weaned over.¶

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when his life is threatened ; it is his duty to deliver the message he has been entrusted with, without the slightest mutilation.

* The text-word lit: means—'falling off' hence 'want of allegiance' &c.

† The author means this, that when an ambassador comes to know that the enemy's *Prakritis* are not what they should be, he should not let the fact take the air, but should himself take advantage of it and covertly do what would be conducive to the good of his master.

‡ It may also mean 'modest, humble'; the translation is free.

§ The author intends to say that to ingratiale himself into the favor of the foe, the ambassador should praise him saying that he is in no way inferior to the *Vijigisu* his master. For *Falena* the commeentary reads *Kulena*, which reading we have accepted.

|| The original word means 'one receiving wages from both sides.' Hence one who is a hypocrete and treacherous.

¶ Or it may mean 'where dissension could be easily sown.' The explanation given in tne commentary supports this view.

13. He should keep up communications with his own secret agents remaining disguised as ascetics in pursuit of knowledge in *Tirthas*,* *Asramas*† and *Saradhanas*.‡

14. He should point out to the alienable party (in the enemy's country) his own master's munificence,§ high lineage prosperity (affluence), forbearance, great energy, magnanimity and geniality.‖

15. He should put up with insulting language and avoid the influence of anger or lust (on all occasions).¶ He should not lie down (to sleep) with others**; he should keep his own purposes strictly secret, but know those of others.

16. An intelligent ambassador should not be depressed and hopeless regarding the accomplishment of his purpose, although he would have to wait a considerable length of time. But by various tempting offers and baits (to the subjects and

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* *Tirtha* ordinarily means a holy place. Here it means specially a place where two or more sacred rivers fall into one another, and which in consequence becomes a place of pilgrimage.

† *Asrama*—is the place where ascetics dwell; hermitage &c.

‡ *Saradhana*—lit: a place of a god; hence a sacred place where temples are built and images of gods enshrined and consecrated. This is the reading of the commentary for *Devayatanas*.

§ For *bounty* the commentator gives *Pratapa*.

‖ What the author means is this that as soon as the messenger or whatever he may be called—finds that there is a faction among the enemy's subjects that may be severed soon, he will at once begin to work by pointing out the superiority of his own employer over their sovereign in every respect. The word 'alienable' has been used for the word *Vadya* which lit: means that which may be easily permanently separated from its main stock.

¶ For, in anger and in lust a man loses himself, and knows not what he does.

** The author prohibits this, as he thinks that the messenger may be a somnambulist and he may speak out his mind during sleep.

officers of the enemy), he should study the passing times.*

17—19.—If during these days that pass away unprofitably, he does not find any defect† in the administration of the ruler of the earth (the enemy), the ambassador—if he is a sound politician and earnestly desirous of the advancement of his own party (king)—should wait (patiently) for advantages of time and place, during a period when the enemy (disgusted with his own idleness) would himself intend to undertake something, such as, the provocation of his own *Pársnigráha*, the pacification of the disaffected section of his subjects, the storing of his forts with stocks of food grains and their repairs.‡ He should console his mind with the thought that the foe would, of his own accord, march against his (ambassador's) master, and he should endeavour accordingly.§

20. When day after day the time for action is deferred, an intelligent ambassador should consider, whether or not the enemy is procrastinating, only to let the opportunity for his (ambassador's) master to attack him (enemy) slip away.‖

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* What the author means is that delay should not deter an intelligent messenger. He should make the best use of that time by studying the state of the enemy's *Raj* in various ways.

† Another meaning is possible *viz.*—if any calamity overtake the enemy, affording a good opportunity for his rivals of fall upon him.'

‡ During the progress of any of these undertakings, the ambassador has every chance of lighting upon some secret or of getting hold of some thing likely to be beneficial to the interests of his own master.

§ The author means to say that if the ambassador finds no flaw in the enemy, he should not despair but content himself with the thought that even the enemy himself may one day march against his master, when the informations gathered by him would be turned to profit.

‖ The translation is free. The author means in case to say that the ambassador finds the enemy deffering every thing to a future period, he should seek an explanation of this conduct in another direction *viz.*, whether or not the enemy is gaining time to deprive his rival of the advantages of a seasonable attack. When once the proper time slips away, the opponent will have to await long for another such opportunity.

21. When it will be evident that the time for action has arrived, he should go back directly to the kingdom of his lord; or remaining there (in the enemy's territory), he should communicate to his master all the important points of his information.

22—23. To find out the foes of the enemy, to alienate his allies and relatives from him, to know (exactly the state of) his forts, finances and army, to determine the course of action to be taken, to win over to his (ambassador's) side the governors of the provinces of the enemy's territory, and to know all the particulars of the route (country) through which march (against the enemy) is intended,—these are said to be the duties of a *Duta*.*

24. A ruler of earth should harass his enemy by means of his own *Dutas*†; on his own part, he should be perfectly aware of the movements of the enemy's *Dutas*.

25. A person skilled in the interpretation of internal sentiments by conjecture and by external gestures, accurate of memory, polite and soft in speech, agile in movements, capable of bearing up with all sorts of privations and difficulties, ready-witted‡ and expert in everything,—such a person is fit to become a spy.

26. Sly spies disguised as ascetics, traders or artisans should go about in all directions§ apprising themselves of the opinion of the world (*i.e.*, the subjects or the public at large).

27. Spies well-informed in everything (*i.e.*, important topic or question of the times), should every day come to

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* Hitherto we have been rendering *Duta* into 'ambassador,' but really *Duta* is more generic—comprising envoys and spies within its meaning. It means 'any one deputed to do something.'

† These *Dutas* penetrating through all the secrets of his (enemy), would cause the enemy considerable anxiety.

‡ That is, possessing presence of mind.

§ The commentator says 'in the mandala of the twelve kings.'

and go away from (*i.e.* communicate with) the ruler of earth, for they are the eyes of the king, that enable him to look at distant things.*

28. In order to penetrate into and divulge the secret of secrets of the enemy, one (a spy) should cautiously and covertly watch his (enemy's) movements. A ruler of earth, having the spies for his eyes, is awake even when he is asleep.†

29. A king should have all his and his enemy's dominions pervaded with spies who resemble the sun in energy and the wind in their movements‡, and whose selection is approved of by the public.

30. Spies are the eyes of the ruler of earth; he should always look through their medium§; he that does not look through their medium, stumbles down, out of ignorance, even on level grounds||; for he is said to be blind.

31. Through the medium of his spies, a king should know the growth and advancement of his rivals' prosperity, their movements in all circumstances, and the purposes and

* The text lit: rendered would be—"for they are the king's eyes that remain at a distance"! The author means that the spies are the medium through which a king perceives things that being away from his own sight, cannot be directly perceived by him. The idea of describing spies as the king's distant eyes is a very favorite one with the Sanskrit poets.

† What the author means is this that although the king sleeps yet his emissaries are wide awake and are working; so when he wakes up he will come to know everything important that may have transpired during his sleep.

‡ That is, who act and move in as imperceptible a manner as the wind.

§ That is, whatever, he should do, should be done in consultation with the spies who always look to the state of affairs for him.

|| That is, even in the performance of ordinary work. Just as a blind man stumbles even on level grounds, so does a king meet with difficulties in all undertaking when he does not use the spies as his eyes.

intentions* of their subjects (lit: of those who inhabit their dominions).

32. Emissaries are said to be of two kinds—*viz.*, secret and public. Secret emissaries have been particularised above; a public emissary is called a *Duta* or an ambassador.†

33. Guided by his spies, a king should proceed to any work, like *Ritvijas*‡ in a sacrifice being guided by the *Sutras*.§ The spy-service is to said be well-established when the ambassador is kept well-informed by the spies.

34. A *Tikshana*,|| a religious mendicant, a sacrificer or a person of purest character—these are the disguises (under which spies roam through a king's *mandala*)¶; when they (the spies) are thus disguised, they do not recognise one another.

35. For the successful termination of their missions, a site for the habitation of the spies should be selected, where there is a constant conflux or gathering (of people). There the spies should stay being duly served and looked after.**

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* Literally 'what they want.'

† The author includes ambassadors under the category of 'spies' or *charas*—which etymologically means those who walk through the king's dominions (*mandala*). The difference between a *Chara* and a *Duta* is that one is a secret agent while the other is a public one.

‡ *Ritvijas* are the priests who officiate at sacrifices; ordinarily four are mentioned *viz* the *Hotri*, the *Udgatri*, the *Adhvaryu* and the *Brahman*; at grand ceremonies sixteen are enumerated.

§ That part of the *Vedas* containing aphoristic rules for sacrifices and other ceremonies.

|| Lit: pungent, sharp; here a person of fiery or passionate temperament. Probably there was a class of persons of this description.

¶ What the author means is this that the spies ordinarily simulate the appearances of these persons, when they roam through the enemy's territory in order to hide their identity.

** The last line of this *Sloka* is erroneously printed in the text; for which the commentary substitutes:—

'*Tishtheyuryatra Samhitāh paricharyyābhibhāvinah*'

which we accept.

36. In the residence of the spies there should stay persons disguised as traders, merchants* husbandmen, convent-heads, (religious) mendicants, professors (of religion); pure-hearted (ascetics), and mercinaries.

37. Spies skilled in studying the hearts of men, should be posted in the territory of all kings who are within the *mandala* of the *Vijigisu* or within that of his enemy.

38. The king that does not know (watch) the movements of the kings of his own *mandala* or of those of his enemy's *mandala*, is said to be asleep† although he is wide awake, and he never wakes up from such sleep of his.

39. (Through his spies) a king should know (watch) those (enemies) who have reason to be exasperated with him and also those who are so without any reason whatever‡; he should by secret measures of punishment (assassination &c..) do away with those among his own household, who are seditious and angry§ with him without any cause whatever.||

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* For *Vala* of the text the annotator gives *Vanik*, and explains it to mean a 'foreigner.'

† There is a pun upon the words *Jâgran* and *Susupta* here. The author means, a king ignorant of the movements of his rivals is as good as one asleep, although he may literally be awake and working. Such carelessness results in his being subjugated; and his inactive nature can never in future throw off the yoke of thraldom.

‡ The author distinguishes between classes of foes—those who are born enemies and those who are made so by some cause or other, such as the withholding of a promised thing &c.

§ This is strictly literal—the meaning is—disaffected towards him although they have never been maltreated.

|| It sounds absurd that we may have enemies although we have never done anything to create one. The commentary cites a Sloka here in order to clear any doubts on the point; the translation of the Sloka is as follows:—"When even an innocent *Muni* (sage) does his own duties, he creates thereby three parties—*viz.*, friends, foes, and neutrals."

40. Those who have reasons to be exasperated with the king, should be conciliated by gifts and the bestowal of honors &c., and then the king should live together with them, having thus subjugated them (won them over to his side); and in this way he should amend his own faults* (which might have given his enemy a hold).

40A. He should preserve the peace of his kingdom by giving the wicked and the seditious (*i.e.* the disturbing element) the snub they deserve. With all his endeavours, he should mend his weakness by conciliation, gift or (bribery).†

41. Taking advantage of the slightest laches of even the most powerful enemy, a king should cause his (enemy's) kingdom to sink completely (in the sea of distress and destructions), even as water causes a drinking cup to sink down in it by entering it through even the smallest hole.

42. Persons simulating to be idiots‡, or deaf, or blind or dumb or eunuchs, and *Kiratas*§ and dwarfs, and hunchbacks and such other agents‖.

43. And (disguised religious) mendicants and *Charanas*¶ and maid-servants and men versed in all arts and arts, should gather undetected**, the informations regarding a king's household.

44. (Persons* disguised as) bearers of the royal Parasols

* Lit: "And thus should he fill up the gaps *i.e.*, holes or weak points of his administration.

† This Sloka is omitted in the text. The commentator explains the last part thus—the anger and disaffection of the subjects and ministers are as it were the breach through which the enemy effects his entrance.

‡ The word is *Jada*, which the commentator takes to mean—"deaf and dumb."

§ The most degraded class of mountain tribe dwelling in ancient India.

‖ The commentary here reads *Kalavidas* which means "those versed in fine arts."

¶ Lit: A wandering singer or actor.

** Lit: "privately."

yak-tails (lit : fans), pitchers, and palanquins, and horse-boys and grooms and other such servants, should keep information about the doings of the high state officials.

45. The cooks,* the bed-room servants, the *vigakâs* :— the Valet de chambre,† the attendants at the table, the shampooers,

46. And the orderlies entrusted with serving up water, betels, flowers, perfumes and ornaments, these and others like them that always keep near the king, should be made instrumental in administering poison to him.‡

47. Cool-headed spies should study the conduct (of all the high state officials) through signs, gestures,§ bodily appearances, the secret tokens they use and the letters they write.

48. Spies versed in all acts and in all arts, assuming various disguises, should roam (in every part) of a *mandala* imbibing public opinion like the solar rays imbibing moisture from the earth.

49. An intelligent *Vijigisu* conversant with the *Shastras* and the ways of the world, should be cognisant of the fact that as he through his spies (lit : by some means) strives to play his enemie's false, so these latter also try to pay him back in his own coin, by engaging‖ spies to watch over him.

Thus ends the twelfth section, the rules regarding embassies and the spies, in the Nitisára of Kamandaka.

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* Lit : "those who prepare highly seasoned dishes."

† That is spend thrifs.

‡ The last line is vicious in the text—the eommentary gives, *Karttavya Rasadà* which reading we accept.

§ For *Murchchita* of the text the commentary gives *Mudritais.*

‖ For *Viyujyamána* the commentary reads—*Niyujyamána.*

SECTION XIII

1. WHEN a monarch would, from the daily reports of the spies, come to know of the failure of his embassy to the foe, he should set out with hostile intentions against this latter, according to the prescribed rules of march, relying on his own keen intelligence as his only guide.*

2. Like fuel† producing fire, a keen and resolute understanding dominated over‡ by equanimity and perseverance, produces many happy results.

3. Just as metallic ores§ are sure to yield the precious gold, and the churning (of the curd) butter, so, earnest endeavour supported by intelligence and perseverance is sure to be crowned with success.

4. An intelligent and energetic king possessed of the *Prabhusakti*||, becomes the excellent receptacle for all prosperity, even as the mighty main is for all waters.

5. Like wealth of waters promoting the lotus, it is intelligence alone that preserves the royal prosperity; and this prosperity is carried to magnificence only by energy and perseverance.¶

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* *Purassara* literally means—'that which walks before'; hence a 'guide.' The sloka bristles with bad readings, and but for the emendations of the commentary, it would have been impossible to make out any meaning. The correct text would be:—

[illegible]
[illegible]

† The text-word *Arana* literally means two pieces of Sami wood used for kindling sacred fire by attrition.

‡ That is—governed.

§ The original word is *Dhatu* which the commentator takes to mean earth, stones and other worthless things obtained with crude minerals.

|| Vide note to sloka 1 and 22, Section I.

¶ The commentary adds—"even as the lotus is caused to bloom fully by the influence of the wind and the solar rays."

6. Prosperity never leaves an energetic king* who follows the dictates of his intelligence, even as its shadow never leaves the body; but it goes on increasing (every day).

7. Like rivers flowing into the ocean, prosperity ever flows down on a king,† who is free from the influence of the *Vyasanas* and is indifatigable, highly energetic, and intelligent.

8. An idle king whose mind is affected by the influence of the *Vyasanas* is, in spite of his possessing many good qualities and a (keen) intelligence, cast off by (the goddess of) prosperity, even as eunuchs are cast off by women.

9. By constant activity he should add to his everything (*i.e.*, prosperity, happiness, &c.), even as fire is added to by the putting of fuel in it.‡ Even a weak king, if he is ever energetic, reaps nothing but prosperity.

10. For enjoying prosperity which is like a faithless lady,§ a king should ever, with all his manliness, desire activity, and should not behave like one impotent.

11. An ever-energetic king by having recourse to the *Sainhee Vriti*‖ should bring prosperity under his own control as if dragging her by the hair, like a man dragging his wicked wife.

12. Without planting his feet on his enemy's head graced with crowns adorned with diverse kinds of gems and and jewels, a person (king) cannot reap prosperity (lit. blessing).

13. Where can there be any happiness (for a king),

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* The reading *Utsáhasampannán* is vicious;—read *Utsàhasampannát*.

† Literally, the translation would be "prosperities enter into him like rivers entering into the ocean."

‡ The author's meaning seems to be this that the more you add fuel to the fire the more its flames blaze forth; so, the more a king exerts himself, the more does he advance on the ladder of prosperity.

§ Prosperity is compared to a faithless lady, for it is never steady with a man.

‖ Lit: 'lion-like conduct' *i. e.* ever active and manly conduct.

unless the deep-rooted tree—his enemies—be eradicated by the mighty elephant—his intelligence—guided by the guide—his earnest endeavours!

14. Prosperity can only be brought home (captive) by a strong arm, resembling the graceful trunk of an elephant and glittering with the dazzling lustre of an easily drawn sword (that it wields).

15. A high-minded person desirous of ascending to a great height (on the ladder of prosperity), plants his feet higher and higher, whereas a low-minded one apprehending fall and destruction, plants them lower and lower.

16. Like the lion planting his paw on the head of an elephant, one (a king) possessed of great energy may place his foot on the head of another excelling him much in bulk.*

17. Fearless like a serpent, a king should make such display of his magnificence as to strike terror into the hearts of his foes. According to the measure of his strength, he should undertake the chastisement of his foes.†

18. A king should fall upon his foe first having removed the cause of disaffection of his people.‡ These causes are bred by the absence of good and the following of offensive policies of administration, as also by adverse Fate.

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* The author means:—A highly energetic and active monarch is capable of subjugating even a foe whose territories are more wide-spread than his own.

† Although the author exhorts in favor of constant activity, yet he warns kings against rashness. Before undertaking an attack, a king should judge his own strength in comparison to that of his foe. Energy of course goes a great way in ensuring success; but it cannot work miracles.

‡ *Prakritivyasana* lit.: means the 'Vices or defect in the *Prakritis* or the constituents of his government.' What the author means is that before going to fight with an external enemy, a king should put down the causes that tend to produce internal enemies, and to breed feuds.

19. *Vyasana** is so-called for it retards the material well-being (of a kingdom; (one a king) under the influence of the *Vyasanas* goes down and down (the depths of degradation); and therefore the *Vyasanas* should be avoided (as much as possible).

20. Fires, floods, famine, prevalence of diseases, and plague and pestilence—these are the five kinds of the *Vyasanas* (calamities) that proceed from Fate; the rest come from human sources.

21. The evils proceeding from Fate should be averted by means of manly efforts and the celebration of propitiatory rites; and a king knowing what should be done, should remove the evils coming from human sources by his energeticalness and adoption of wise measures of policy.

22. From the king (*Swamy*) to the allies†—all these constituents form the *Prakriti Mandala*, (or government). I shall now in due order, enumerate their functions and their frailties.

23. To hold counsels,‡ to secure the results of counsel,§ to direct others in the performance of actions, to ascertain beforehand the effects (good or bad) of future events and occurrences, to look after the income and expenditure (of the kingdom), to administer justice,‖ to subjugate enemies,

24. To avert threatening evils and calamities, and to protect the kingdom,¶—these are the functions of a minister. But a minister when he is under the influence of the

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* Etymologically means that which throws back (the good or the progress and prosperity of a kingdom).

† Vide *Supra* Sloka 1. Section IV.

‡ The word *mantra* includes all operations—from the initial proceedings of a consultation to the attainment of a certain result.

§ *i. e.* to acquire and preserve territories &c.

‖ Lit: to "mete and dole" laws; to inflict punishments according to the offences.

¶ For *Rājarajyávisèchanam*, the commentary give as, *Ràjarajyávirakshanam*

Vyasanas [vicious propensities] falls in all these (functions of his).

25. A king whose minister possessed by the *Vyasanas* is weaned over (by the foe),* becomes incapable of resisting the enemy by the application of the measures of policy, like a bird incapable of flying when its wings are cut off.

26. Gold, corn, cloths, conveyances and all other such things (that the king enjoys), arise from the (prosperity of the) people.

27. The people promote the trade, commerce, cultivation and other such means that conduce to the prosperity of a kingdom.† These totally depend on the people. Therefore, when the people are in danger (or under the influence of evil propensities) no success can be achieved.

28. Castles are the places of refuge for the people in times of danger; they are protections for the troops and the treasures; with a view to take refuge into them, the citizens (seek to) oblige their rulers (by gifts, presents &c.)

29. That which is a means for carrying on *Tushni* warfare,‡ that which affords protection to the people (in troublous times), that which can take in friends and foes alike and that which is a check against the attacks of the neighbouring forest tribes—is called a *Durga* (castle).§

30. A king safe within the recesses of his castle (or a king possessing numerous castles) is respected both by his

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* Several important change of reading are to be noted here. For *Amatyâ* [illegible] read [illegible] and for [illegible] read [illegible].

† The original word is *Vârtâ*, which lit. means,—the occupation or profession by which one earns his livelihood. We have rendered the word freely.

‡ When a king concealing himself in his castle or [illegible] attacked by the enemy, suddenly falls upon the latter, such a sort of warfare is called *Tushni Yuddha*.

§ *Durga* etymologically means that, which is approached or taken with difficulty.

own and his enemy's partizans. But when *Durga-vysana* exists none of these exists.*

31. The act of maintaining dependents, acts of munificence, (personal and other) decorations, purchasing of conveyances (horses and elephants), stability (of the kingdom), facility for sowing dissension among the enemy (and his allies), repairing of castles,

32. Construction of bridges and cause-ways, trade and commerce, the acquisition of friends and allies and the love of the people, and lastly, the accomplishment of rightious and desirable acts—all proceed from the treasure (*i. e.* all these depend entirely on a solvent financial condition.)

33. "The foundations of royalty are laid in the treasures"—this is a popular saying well-known in all regions. A ruler of men whose treasury is in danger (of being insolvent) loses all prospects of success in the above-mentioned acts.

34. A king with a solvent treasury increases his forces reduced (in consequence of wars), and he naturally wins the good-will of his people. He is even respected and served by his enemies.

35. To add to the number of friends and foes, and to the amount of gold (*i. e.* wealth and the territorial possessions of a kingdom), to accomplish with alacrity acts deferred to an indefinite future, to protect what is acquired or gained,

36. To destroy the army of the foe, and to save the forces of its own side,—all these acts proceed from the army. So when the army is under the influence of the *Vyásanas* (*i e.* when it is defective), these (the above-named acts) run to ruin (*i.e.* are never accomplished with any degree of success).

37. The foes even of a king possessing an efficient army, are turned into his friends (seek his friendship). A king possessing a large army, rules the earth (unmolested) after having (properly conquered it).

* That is, when castles are not repaired and properly looked after, the king and his people lose all respect and chance of safety.

38. A faithful ally restrains others (from) throwing off their allegiance, and destroys the enemy. He serves the king (to whom he is allied) by risking his own dominions, treasures, troops and his life even.

39. By ties of mutual affection, he succeeds in securing numerous other friends and allies. When therefore the ally is under the influence of the *Vyasanas*, his function is no longer duly discharged.

40. A true ally promotes the welfare of his allied king without expecting to be remunerated in return. A king having (faithful) allies, succeeds with the greatest ease, even in most difficult undertakings.

41. Pursuit of knowledge, protection of the *Varnas* and *Asramas* of his own kingdom, ability of using pure (unpoisoned) weapons, accomplishment in all the modes of warfare,

42. Habits of hardiness, knowledge of the implements of war (*offensive and defensive*) and of the characteristics of acts (such as, testing the strength of armours &c.), ability for riding properly on horses, elephants and chariots,

43. Skilfulness in wrestling, the art of clearly seeing through the purposes of others (lit: entering into other's heart), crookedness with the crooked, and honesty with the honest,

44. Consultations and recommendations (with the cabinet, regarding a certain project), preservation of the secrecy of counsels, healthiness (of the mind), disregard of (such modes of policy as) conciliation, gift or bribery, and application to (such modes as) sowing dissensions and inflicting punishments,

45. Knowledge of the movements and intents of the commanders and other officers of his troops, and of the counsellors, ministers and priests, imprisonment of the wicked (among the above-named officers),

46. Observation of those who come to and go away from him as ambassadors, the removal of the calamities that

threaten the people, and the appeasing of the angry or disaffected element (of the state),

47. Obedience to the preceptors, bestowal of honours and respects on those worthy of them, administration of justice, suppression of the disturbing factor of the kingdom (lit: the taking out of the thorns of the state, such as the thieves, robbers, murderers, &c.,

48. Knowledge of what exists and what does not, examination of what is done and what is left off undone, investigation as to who is satisfied and who dissatisfied among his dependents,

49. Complete acquaintance with the movements, (and character) of the *Madhyama* and the *Udásina** and the act of turning this acquaintance to means for establishing firmly his own rule, (or to means for the success of his undertakings), acquisition of allies and the chastisement of the enemies,

50. The protection of his sons and wives and his own-self, entertaining amicable feelings towards his relatives and friends, the promotion of such measures of revenue on which his own material progress depends,

51. Infliction of hardships on the wicked, and to afford facilities for the advancement of the honest, abstinence from doing injury to any being, and the avoidance of sin or unrighteousness,

52. Prohibition of evil deeds and the promotion of good ones, the giving away of things fit to be given, and the accumulation of those that should not be parted with,

53. Withholding of punishment from those who do not deserve them, and the infliction of them on those who rightly merit them, acceptance of things acceptable and the rejection of those unacceptable,

54. Performance of fruitful deeds, and the rejection of

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* Vide Supra note.

fruitless ones, the just levying of taxes and their remission in bad seasons,

55. The preferment of high officials of state, and the removal of those who deserve dismissal, pacification of calamities (such as famine, pestilence, &c.) and the establishment of friendliness among his servants,

56. To know what is unknown, and to be assured of what is known, to undertake good acts, and to see to their ends acts undertaken,

57. Desire for acquiring what remains unacquired and facilitating the advancement of what is acquired, and the proper consignment of a thriving object to the care of a deserving person,

58. Suppression of wrong and the following of the paths of rectitude, and (lastly) the doing of good to one who does good to him,—these are the functions of a ruler of earth.

59. An energetic king following the paths of true policy, leads to eminence these and his government and ministers; but influenced by evil propensities, he leads them to destruction.

60. But when a king becomes busy in the performance of religious deeds and in acquiring wealth, or when he is demented, all these functions ought to be discharged by his ministers.

61. Excessive harshness in the words spoken and in the punishments meted out, defects in the administration of finance, inebriation, (excessive love for the company of) women, and for hunting, and gambling (at the dice),—these are the *Vyasanas* of a king.

62. Procrastination, sluggishness, conceit, carelessness, cultivation of (other's) ill-will,—these and those enumerated above (viz., the *vyasanas* of the king), are the *vyasanas* of the ministers.

63. Excessive rain, want of rain (drought), locusts, rats, mice and parrots (and other such corn-destroying agents)

unjust taxation, confiscation of the properties of the people, foreign invasion and depredation, and thieves, and robbers,

64. Abandonment of the king by his forces and his favourites, distress brought about by the prevalence of diseases, and the death of cattle, and the ravages of the murrain,—these are the *vyasanas* of the kingdom.

65. Disorder and decay of the implements of war and of the ramparts and ditches, want of weapons in the arsenal, and failure of the stock of food and fuels,—these are the *vyasanas* of the castle.

66. Extravagance, outlay (in different projects), misappropriation (by the officials and servants), want of accumulation, robbery, and remoteness (of the flowing in of money),—these are said to be the *vyasanas* of the treasury.

67. To be besieged (by the enemy), to be surrounded on all sides (by hostile forces), to be disgraced, to be deprived of a being duly honoured, to be disaffected (or badly paid), to be diseased, to be fatigued or over-worked, to be returned from distant lands, to be newly recruited,

68. To be reduced in unmber, to be deprived of its leaders, to have its brave warriors killed, to be excited with hopes and disappointments, to become faithless,

69. To have women with it, to be scattered over different countries, to have thorns (*i. e.*, spies &c., set by the foe) in its ranks, to be torn by dissensions, to be sent to fight in foreign *Mandalas*, to be undisciplined,

70. To have its senior officers enraged,* to be commanded by men differing in opinion, to have foes in its own ranks, to be united with the enemy, to be careless of its own intersts and those of the allies (of its monarch),

71. To be cut off from the supplies of food and the support of allied troops, to be destitute of shelter (wherein to

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* The word in the text is *Krudha-maulam*. *Moulam* as explained by the commentator, means soldiers who have served the royal dynasty from generation to generation.

secure the families and properties of its soldiers, to hazard battles without the consent of its master, to put forward different excuses (for its delinquencies).

72. To have bad *Pârshnigrâhas*, and to be ignorant of the country (where it is despatched)—these are said to be the *vyasanas* of the army. Of these some are irremediable and some remediable; of this, I am speaking presently.

73. When relieved or set free, a besieged force, becoming highly efficient may fight; and an army surrounded on all sides and without any egress, must also fight (out its own way).

74. An unhonored army when *duly* honoured, will fight; but a dishonored army, with its fire of indignation burning, will never do so.

75. An army badly paid will fight, when it is duly paid up to date; but a diseased and disordered (inefficient) one, will not do so; for then, it will be defeated.

76. After enjoying proper rest, an overworked and fatigued army will again face the campaign; but an army returned from distant lands with its energy drooping, becomes incapable of using weapons (*i.e.* active service.)

77. A newly recruited force will fight when united with older regiments of the realm; but an army with its brave warriors killed and reduced in numbers will not fight.

78. A routed army, supported by brave heroes will again face the battle; but an army, with its leaders slain and its vanguard slaughtered, will turn away from the fight.

79. When its hopes are realised and its disappointments removed, a *force* will not fight, for then, there will be nothing inducing it to risk a battle. When confined within a small area, an army will not fight, in consequence of the narrowness of the field.

80. An army at first besieged and then set free, will fight when equipped with the implements of war (horses, conveyances and weapons); and an army having women

with it* becomes capable of fighting when the women are removed.

81. An army scattered over different kingdoms, and away from home, will not fight (heartily); and one with the thorns (spies &c.) set by the enemy within it, becomes incapacitated for active service.

82. An army torn by dissensions, with its soldiers opposing one another, does not fight (is unfit for battle); so also an army despatched to a foreign *mandala* or realm (does not fight).†

83. An army that had not travelled to foreign lands, and one that has fled away, cannot fight. An army that has served the forefathers of a king, will not fight, when it is enraged; but when satisfied, it will fight (most gladly).

84. An army hemmed in on all sides by the foe and confined in one place, cannot fight; and troops whose camp is assailed by the enemy also become incapable of fighting well.

85. An army with the enemy within its ranks, will not fight; but when these thorns (the foes) are removed, it will fight; an army though corrupted by the enemy, will fight, if led by courageous warriors.‡

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* The original word is *Kalatra Garvam*—which means 'to have women within it.' The commentator explains *Kalatra* as *Kulastri* or ladies,—his meaning being, that when the wives and families of soldiers are allowed to travel with them, they fight reluctantly, ever watchful for saving their lives whose importance is enhanced as they look upon their objects of affection. But when these latter are far away, the soldiers in the excitement of the battle, totally forget them and fight heedless of their lives, thus paving the way of victory for their king.

† The commentator explains—for it is worn out with the fatigue and hardships of the journey.

‡ The texts of Slokas 84 and 85, are vicious, the commentator gives the following two for them.

84. Misram Satrubhirékastham tadákrántatayá kshamam,
Sotrorupanibistam Yat sâmarthyánnâksham Yudhi.

86. An army is said to be neglectful of its own interests when in times of danger it remains inactive. An army engaged in serving an ally in consequence of its excellent advantages regarding time and position, cannot be properly used (in any other purpose).

87. The supply of food and clothing is called *Vivadha* and *Asára* means the troops of the allies. An army cut off from the supply of food and clothing and from the support of the troops of the allies, cannot fight.

88. The troops that have no shelter (to secure their families and properties) will fight when shelter is provided by the citizens for them. An army that acts without the orders of its master, is not attached to him (in faithfulness), and will not fight.*

89. An army becomes leaderless when every one in it, is his own master, (and no one is accepted as leader): such an army is incompetent to fight; so also, a disunited army and one with a bad *Parshnigraha*, are incapable of fighting.

90. An army ignorant of the state of affairs (about it) is said to be blind, and for this reason, it is incompetent for fighting.† These are the *Vyasanas* of the army; carefully looking into them,‡ a king should undertake a war.

91. An ally is said to be also under the influence of the *vyasanas* when he is suffering from the afflictions of Fate, or is assailed on all sides by the forces of the foe, or is possessed of the defects arising out of lust and anger, which have been enumerated above.

92. Beginning with the king, of the seven constituents of

[illegible]. *[illegible]*

[illegible]

* This part is unintelligible. The commentator supplies a different reading, which we do not accept.

† The text is vicious; the commentator gives:

[illegible]

‡ For when they exist, no endeavours can bring about victory.

a government that have been described above, the *vyasanas* of each preceding constituent is graver than the one following it.*

93. A king should be cognisant of all these *vyasanas* of the members of his Government ; and he, without letting the right opportunity slip away, should exert himself in removing them to the best of his powers, intelligence and endeavours.

94. A monarch desirous of the welfare and prosperity of his government, should not overlook, out of error or arrogance, the *vyasanas* that may overtake the *Prakritis*. He that neglects the *vyasanas* of his *Prakritis*, is, ere long, defeated by his enemies.

95. Weighing gravely what should be done, a king should apply himself to the performance of his duties. Endeavouring his best, he should see the end of all his undertakings. A ruler of earth, the constituents of whose government are purged of all their defects and drawbacks† through his wise policy, enjoys for a long time, the three objects of existence.‡

Thus ends the thirteenth chapter, the description of the vyasanas and the means for remedying them, in the Nitisar of Kamandaka.

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* The original Sanskrit construction would admit of no other rendering. The meaning is, that the *Vyasanas* of the king are prolifi cof greater evils than the *vyasanas* of the ministers, and so forth.

† The text word lit : rendered would be "whose holes are filled in with wise policy."

‡ The objects are, *Dharma* or virtue, *Artha* or wealth, *Káma*, or objects of enjoyment.

SECTION XIV.

THE *Prakritis*, beginning with the minister and ending with the ally, are said to be the constituents of a government. Of all the weaknesses of the government, the greatest is the weakness of the ruler of earth.

2. A monarch free from all weaknesses, is capable of redeeming the weaknesses of the government; but a prosperous government can not rescue its head (the king) from his weaknesses.

3. A king who does not possess the eye of political knowledge is said to be blind; it is better to have such a blind king than one, who though possessed of such eyes, transgresses the path of rectitude out of pride or carelessness.

4. Such a blind monarch may be rescued from ruin by his ministers skilled in giving advice. But when a king, though possessed of the eye of political knowledge blinded by pride, he completely ruins himself.

5. For these reasons, a king possessed of the eye of polity, following the advices of his prime minister, should avoid the weaknesses that mar (the realization of) virtue and wealth.

6. Too much harshness in speech and in the punishments meted out, and unjust seizure of property and withholding of what is due,—these are said by those conversant with the nature of weaknesses, to be the three weaknesses arising out anger.

7. Excessive indulgence in hunting, gambling (at dice), women's company and drinking—these are said by those understanding the meaning of weaknesses, to be the four kinds of weaknesses bred by lust.

8. Among men, harshness in speech causes great trouble and is prolific of much harm; it should therefore not be practised. On the other hand, a king should win (the good-will of) the public by his sweet and mellifluous speech.*

9. He that by fits and starts, often speaks too much in anger, causes thereby much anxiety to his subjects, like a fire shooting numerous sparks.

10. Sharp daggerlike words penetrating into the core of the heart and cutting to the quick, excites a powerful person;† and thus excited, he turns into an enemy.

11. A monarch should not excite the public by harsh words; he should be sweet in his speech; even a miserly monarch, acting in a kind and friendly manner, is (faithfully) served (by the people).

12. The shbjugation of the unsubjugated and their chastisement, is called *Danda* by the wise‡. One should deal out *Danda* according to the rules of polity; for, infliction of punishments on those deserving them is praiseworthy.

13. A king hard (cruel), in the infliction of punishments excites (fear in the heart of) the people; thus troubled, they seek the protection of the enemy.

24. In this way affording shelter to the people, the enemy rises to power; and a powerful enemy causes destruction. For these reasons, a monarch should not excite (the anxiety of) his subjects.

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1 This Sloka contains many vicious readings;—for *Pàrusya* read *Pārusyam* and for *Loka* read *Loké*.

2 The first part of the last line of this Sloka is bad, for which the commentator supplies:—

Tejasvinam dipayati.

3 The word *Sarbhi* in the text is a misprint for *Sadbhi*. *Danda* is the last of the four expedients of foregn policy (vide *Supra*).

15. Rulers of earth doing good (kindness) to the people grow in prosperity; their growth depends on the growth of the people, and their ruin on these latter's ruin.

16. Except in the case of the despoliation of the kingdom a king should avoid the infliction of the capital punishment, even in the gravest of offences. In the aforesaid instance only, such punishment is commendable.*

17. The expenditure of a considerable amount of money in order to exculpate a culpable offender is said to be *Arthadushana*† by those conversant with the essentials of polity.

19. The jostling of the conveyances, their destruction; the sufferings caused by hunger, thirst, fatigue, exertion, cold, heat and the wind;

20. The infliction of much distress arising out of *Tikshnavyasana* on the army; heated, sandy and thorny soils;

21. Injuries done by collision with trees, scratches from thorns and plants; difficulties caused by rocks, creepers, trunks of trees and earthen mounds;

22. Capture or death‡ by the hands of foresters and foes hidden behind rocks, or in the beds of rivers or inside underwoods and copses;

23. Assassination by his own troops weaned over by the enemy; danger of falling a prey to bears, serpents, elephants, lions, and tigers;

21. Choking of the breath by the smoke of the forest conflagration; and mistaking the way or direction and the consequent wandering—these are said to be the *Marga*

* For *Jatiladanda*, the commentator gives Tatva danda, which appears to be an emendation true.

† The word *Ili* means some flaw in the collection and expenditure of money—*Arthadusana* occurs when money is unjustly collected or unnecessarily expended.

‡ *Parikllisa* is a misprint for *Parikllisa*.

yávysana (or the evils attending too much indulgence in hunt) of rulers of earth.

25. Indefatigability, physical exercise, the cure of phlegm fat and indigestion, and excellent sureness in shooting arrows at moving or steady aims,

26. These are spoken of by others to be the goods proceeding from hunting ; but this view can not be accepted. The evils of hunting are almost all of a fatal nature. So, hunting is a great *Vyasana.*

27. Indigestion and other such physical complaints may also be cured by constant healthy exercise on horseback ; and sureness in shooting arrows at moving aims, can also be mastered in other ways.

28. But if a king is ardently desirous of (enjoying the pleasures of) the hunt, let a beautiful park be constructed at the precincts of the town, for his sports.

29. The park should be surrounded on all sides by ditches and walls incapable of being crossed or leapt over by the game. In length and breadth it should extend to half a *Yojana* (or about eight miles).

30. It should be situated near the foot of a mountain or the bed of a river, and should abound in water and soft green grass. It should not contain thorny plants and copses, and should be free from poisonous trees or plants.

31. It should be decorated with beautiful and well-known trees loaded with blossoms and fruits and spreading cool, pleasing and thick shades.

32. The burrows, pits, and cavities should be filled up with dust and gravel, leaving no chasm or declivity in the soil ; and it should be levelled by the removal of trunks of trees, earthen mounds, and rocks, &c.

33. The lakes and other expanses of water inside the park, should be freed from sharks, crocodiles, &c., and they should be deep, and adorned with diverse acquatic flowers and birds.

34. The park should abound in such game, as elephants and elephant cubs, tigers with their teeth broken and claws pared off, and horned beasts with their horns cut off.

35. It should be beautified with creepers crested with flowers and blossoms within easy reach, and should be adorned with nice little plants growing on the sides of the ditches.

36. Outside the park, the fields stretching to a great distance, should be levelled and cleared of trees. The park itself should be inaccessible to the forces of the enemy, and thus afford a feeling of safety and comfort to the mind.

37. Such a park when guarded by hardy and vigilant guards, faithful in allegiance and capable of reading the hearts of spies, becomes the source of immense pleasure to the monarch.*

38. Strong and hardy men well-versed in the art of hunting, should for the sport of the king, introduce into the park various kinds of game.

39. A king, capable of bearing up against the fatigue of a morning walk, should enter into the park for sport accompanied by his faithful and favourite attendants and without detriment to any other function of his.

40. When the monarch enters the park for sport, then outside it, sentries, should be placed, ready and arranged (for action) and watching the boundaries far and distant.

41. The king pleased with the sport, would then reap those good results that have been said by the wise to proceed from hunting.

42. Regarding hunt, these are the rules that I point out. Transgressing these, a king should not go about hunting like a common professional hunter.

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* The Sloka bristles with bad readings. For *Sahitánám* read *Gu-hánám*, and for [illegible] read [illegible].

43. Speedy flowing out (loss) of money in spite of all care to preserve it, untruthfulness, feelinglessness (cruelty), anger, harshness in speech,*

44. Covetousness, neglect of righteous ceremonies, discontinuance of (commenced public) works, separation from the company of the good and union with the wicked,

45. Certain draining of the treasury. endless hostility (with the defeated party), feeling of destitution when still there is money enough (to meet the requirements of the game), and a sense of affluence when indeed there is no money in the fund,

46. Anger and joy at every moment, remorse at each step, distress at each moment, and questioning of the witness at every doubtful cast of the dice,

47. Disregard of such (indispensable) acts as bathing, cleansing of the body, and of sexual enjoyment, want of physical exercise, weakness of the limbs and the body, overlooking of the precepts of the *Shástras*,

48. Retention of the discharge of urine, sufferings from (the pangs of) hunger and thirst,—these are said by persons versed in polity, to be the evils of gambling.

49. Even Pāndu's son Yudhisthira† that very virtuous

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* Lit :—"Words cutting like the dagger."

† The story of king Yudhisthira's gambling with Duryodhana is contained in the Mahabharata. These two were two cousins, one ruling in Hastinapur and the other in Indraprastha. Duryodhana who was jealous of the prosperity and advancement of Yudhisthira, invited him to a game at dice (of which Yudhisthira was particularly fond), hoping thereby to rob him of all his possessions. In that gambling match Duryodhana who was ably assisted by his maternal uncle Sakuni, won from Yudhisthira everything that he staked till the infatuated gambler staked himself, his brothers, Droupadi (his wife) herself, all of whom shared the same fate, and as a condition of the wager were forced to serve the Kouravas. But afterwards, Dhritarastra, Duryodhana's blind father, relented and set them free.

and learned monarch resembling a second Lokapâla,* lost his lawful wife in wicked gambling.

50. The very powerful monarch Nala having lost his prosperous kingdom (as a wager) in gambling, abandoned his lawful queen in the woods, and afterwards did the work of a menial.†

51. Prince Rukmin of golden complexion, who was equal to Indra himself and a bowman whose match was not to be found on earth, even that prince met with his destruction through the evils of gambling.‡

52. The foolish Dantabakra, the ruler of Koonikampa, had his teeth broken, in consequence of excessive indulgence in gambling (at dice).§

53. From gambling causeless hostilities proceed; through gambling love and affection wither away; and as a con-

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* The *Lokapâlas* are the divine Regents that are supposed to rule over the quarters of heaven.

† Nala was a very noble-minded and virtuous king. He was chosen by Damayanti, inspite of the opposition of gods, and they lived happily for some years. But Kali a god, who was disappointed in securing her hand, resolved to persecute Nala, and entered into his person. Thus affected, he played at dice with his brother, and losing his everything, he with his wife was banished from the kingdom. One day while wandering through the wilderness, he abandoned his almost naked wife and went away. Subsequently he was deformed by the serpent Korkotaka and thus deformed entered the service of king Rituparna as a horse-groom under the name of Vahuka. Subsequently, with the assistance of this king, he regained his beloved and they led a happy life. *(Apte)*.

‡ Rukmin was the brother of Rukmini, Bhishmaka's daughter, one of the wives of Srikrishna. The allusion is obscure; the commentary only says that Rukmin was slain by Valabhadra, Krishna's elder brother, in consequence of a quarrel arising out of a game at dice.

§ Here also the commentary is not elaborate. It is said that Dantabakra also played at dice with Valabhadra, who when lost at other was enraged, and broke his teeth with a blow of the dice. The allusion is obscure.

sequence of gambling, dissension is sowed even among strongly united parties.

54. For these reasons, an intelligent monarch should avoid gambling which is productive of evils only. He should also prohibit other proud rulers from challenging* him to a gambling match.

55. Delay in the discharge of duties, loss of money, and the abandonment of virtuous deeds, provocation of the *Prakritis* caused by the king's continued absence in the seraglio,

56. Divulgence of the secrets (by the women with whom they are fondly confided), inducement to commit culpable deeds, jealousy, intolerance, anger, hostility and rashness,

57. These and those enumerated above, are said to be the evils arising out of excessive fondness for the company of women. Seeing this, a monarch desirous of the welfare of his kingdom, should shun the company of women.

58. The energy of the low-minded who are ever hankering after a look at the face of women, dwindles away with their youth.

59. (Aimless) wandering, loss of self control, senselessness, insanity, incoherence in speech, sudden illness,

60. Loss of energy, loss of friends, perversion of the understanding, intelligence and learning, separation from the good and union with the wicked, coming across misfortunes,

61. Faltering steps, tremor of the whole body, giddiness (lassitude), excessive enjoyment of women,—these are the evils of the indulgence in drinking, which have been strongly denounced by the wise.

62. The Vrishnis and the Andhakas of illustrious fame, endowed with power and learning and good behaviour, met

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* For *Samábbhayam* the commentary gives *Samáhuyam* which reading we accept.

with their destruction in consequence of the evils of *drink*.*

63. The illustrious Sukra the son of Bhrigu, that best of ascetics who was equal to his father in intelligence, ate up through excessive intoxication, his very favourite disciple (Kacha).†

64. A person intoxicated with *drink*, does anything and everything indiscriminately; and in consequence of his indiscriminate conduct, he is excommunicated (from public society).

65. Beautiful women and *drink* may be enjoyed within the bounds of moderation; but a learned king should never indulge in hunting and gambling, for these are full of greater dangers.

66. These are the seven kinds of rampant evils retarding the material prosperity of a kingdom, that have been enumerated by those who are conversant with the science of omens and prognostics. The presence of one of these (in a sovereign) is enough to cause his immediate ruin, not to speak of the simultaneous presence of all!

67. These seven kinds of *Vyasanas* ending in evil, increase the longing of the senses for their respective objects of enjoyment, and destroy the supremacy, wisdom, and excellence and the evergrowing prosperity even of those who are endowed with intelligence equal to that of the Gods.

68. The enemies of a king always under the influence of the *Vyasanas*, defeat him, and themselves become invincible;

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* The Vrishnis and the Andhakas were the two offshoots of the Yadu dynasty. When at *Prabhasa*, they drank too much, and then slew one another through excessive intoxication. The story is contained in the Mahabharata.

† Kacha was Vrihaspati's son. He went to Sukra to master the secret lore of reviving the dead. But the Asuras becoming jealous of him, slew him, and when Sukra was intoxicated, offered Kacha's cooked flesh to him. He ate up without knowing what he was eating. For a fuller story, vide supra.

but the wise monarch who is free from the influence of the *Vyasanas*, vanquishes his enemies, and himself becomes unconquerable.

Thus ends the fourteenth Section, the seven kinds of Vyasanas. in the Nitisara of Kamandaki.

SECTION XV.

1. FREE from the influences of the *Vyasanas*, and fully possessed of the matchless regal powers, a ruler of men desirous of victory, should set out against his wicked enemy suffering from the influence of the *Vyasanas*.

2. In almost all cases, the wise advise military expeditions against the foes, when these are overwhelmed with calamities; but when a king is confident of his own powers and is in highly prosperous state he may fall upon the foe, though this latter may not be afflicted by the *Vyasanas*.

3. When a monarch would be sure of his ability to forcibly slay even his foe swelling with powers, then (and then only) should he start on a military expedition, inflicting injuries, such as loss and distress, on the latter.

4. A king should first set out to conquer that part of the enemy's territory which teem with the wealth of corn and is thus a thing to be sought out. It is considered sound policy to deprive the enemy of his supply of food by the destruction of the corn, and thus to add to the strength of a king's own army.

5. His rear safe and secure and avoiding dangerous countries in front, a cool-headed king, cognisant of the movements of the foe, should enter such territories of the enemy

where there would be no difficulty on the route for the supply of food and the support of the allies.

6. Indefatigable and fearless, an intelligent monarch well-provided with food and drink and with detachments* ready for action, should march through all places—level countries, uneven tracts and low lands,—being always guided by a reliable vanguard.

7. In summer, a monarch should march through woods abounding in waters, in which the elephants of the army may perform their ablution; for, if they do not get water (for washing their huge bodies), leprosy will afflict them, owing to the severe heat of Summer.

8. An internal heat burns inside the bodies even of elephants employed to perform easy work; this heat when increased by the toils of heavy work, soon kills them (elephants).

9. When there is want of sufficient water in Summer, all creatures are reduced to great distress,† and elephants when they are deprived of drinking water, soon become blind, in consequence of the heat that scorch their bodies.

10. The kingdoms of the rulers of earth, rest on elephants resembling in effulgence masses of blue clouds, from whose temples the fragrant ichor exudes‡ and who are capable of rendering asunder rocks with the strokes of their tusks.

11. One elephant, duly equipt, trained in the ways of war and ridden by the bravest of persons, is capable of slaying six thousand well-caparisoned horses.

12. Armies having elephants in them, are said to achieve success on water, on land, in narrow defiles crowded with trees, on ordinary, even or uneven grounds, and in such

* *Gulma* means a detachment of troops consisting of 45 foot, 27 horse, 9 chariots and 9 elephants.

† Lit: 'the last state of existence.'

‡ For an explanation of *Dāna*, Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 2, Sec. VII.

acts as creating breaches in the ramparts and towers (lit: *harmya* is a mansion).

13. For these reasons, a king should march slowly and without causing fatigue to his troops, through such countries where there are routes on which there is plenty of food and drink, and where there is no danger or difficulty—there by increasing his own efficiency.

14. Even the smallest of prosperous enemies causes great difficulty from behind. So, coolly reviewing his condition, a king should undertake military expeditions. He should not ruin what he possesses, for what is uncertain.

15. Difficulties at the back, and success in the front, of these, the former is of greater moment (and deserves early attention.) Those (kings) who transgress this principal (*i.e.* act otherwise), enlarge the holes (defects of their administration). For these reasons, weighing these things well, a king should set out on an expedition.

16. When a monarch is strong both in his front and his back (*i. e.* when he is capable of subjugating his foes both in front and rear) then only should he launch upon an expedition bearing great fruits. Otherwise, marching forward with the enemy at his back unchecked, a king suffers signal loss in the rear portion of his army.

17. On setting out on a expedition, a king should place in the van, an army of many detachments, whose ranks teem with many brave heroes. There is unity in an army of great heroes, and unity (*i.e.* united army) is unconquerable by the enemy.

18. When a foe must be marched upon, an energetic king should not be afraid of the difficulties that may be at his rear; he should depute in the front his commander-in-chief or the prince with a portion of the army (and himself remain to watch the foe in the rear).

19. Of internal and external defects, the internal is graver—(*i.e.* should be first attended to). Amending the

internal ones and providing necessary measures for the (removal of the) external ones, a king should set out on an expedition.

20. The priests, the ministers, the princes and the noblemen—these are the principal leaders of the army; their disaffection of which no sign is outwardly perceivable, and which is caused by some change of policy,* is said by the sages to be internal defect.†

21. The other kind of disaffection of which the fury is outwardly perceivable, is the disaffection of the frontier guards, foresters and border tribes. When this sort of disaffection is generated, a king should meet it, assisted by their ministers and counsellors of skilful ways (weaning them over to his side).

22. Internal disaffection should be pacified by such measures of policy as conciliation, gift &c, and external disaffection by the causing of dissension and destruction among the disaffected party. A wise monarch should pacify disaffection in such a manner that the disaffected do not resort to the enemy's side.

23. The loss of men and munitions is said to be destruction; and the loss of money and corn (food) is said to be drain. A wise and prudent king should never betake to a troublous policy prolific of (such) destruction and drain.

24. He should follow such policies as are sure to be crowned with success and attended with much beneficial results, and whose termination would not be delayed and future effects would be conducive of much good. But he should never resort to such troublous policies which involve the evils of destruction and drain.

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* Lit:—proceeding from *Mantra* or counsel.

† *Prakopa*, lit: means the morbid irritation or disorder of anything; it is usually preceded by such words as *Vata*, *pitta* &c, which are the humours of the body.

25. Attempt to accomplish what are incapable of being accomplished, want of attempt for what are capable of being accomplished proceeding out of imprudence, and attempt in inopportune moments for what are capable of being accomplished—these are said to be the three kinds of *Vyasanas* attending the performance of acts.

26. Lust, want of forgiveness and forbearance, too much tenderness (of feeling), bashfulness, crookedness, and want of straight-forwardness, arrogance, self-conceit, excessive piousness, poorness of the army and its dishonoring,

27. Malice, terror, negligence, and carelessness, incapability of enduring the inclemeneies of the weather, hot, cold, and rainy,—these (causes) favored by the advantages of the season, are sure to hinder the achievement of success.

28. The wise say that there are seven kinds of party—*viz*—that which is the kings own, that which is of the allies, that which has sought the kings protection, that which has been created by some act or other, that which arises out of some relationship, that which was a party before, and that which has been weaned over by various services and display of politeness and courtesy.

29. A loyal party is to be recognised by his ready obediennce, his singing in praise of the (king's) merits, his not putting up with the insults and blame offered to the king, his efforts to fill up the holes (*i.e.*, redeem the weaknesses) of the king, and by his conversations regarding the richness, energy and courage of the monarch.

30. One of high lineage, straight-forward, learned in the *Shastras*, polite, high in rank and position, firm in his allegiance,* grateful, and endowed with power, intelligence, and wisdom,—such a one should be recognised as a faithful and well-behaved party.

31. Energy, an accurate remembrance, contentment,

* Lit. 'never intending to forsake the king.'

courage, truthfulness, liberality, kindliness, firmness, dignity, self-control, endurance, bashfulness, and eloquence (or boldness in speech)—these are said to be the qualities of the (king's) self.

32. Its management according to the commendable rules of polity, is said to be the power of counsel. The sufficiency and the efficiency of the treasury and the army respectively, are said to be the power of the king, and strong and powerful exertion is said to be the power of energy; the possessor of these three kinds of powers becomes the victor.

33. Expeditiousness, skilfulness, courage in seasons of adversity and coolness in prosperity, an infallible, matured and social wisdom resulting from close study of the *Shastras*,

34. Energy, boldness, perseverance, exertions, readiness and manliness in the performance of acts, healthiness, the ability for the achievement of the ends of action, a favourable fortune and cheerfulness—these are qualities worthy of a king.*

35. Laying hold of the enemie's treasury by sowing dissension among his partisans, a king should march upon the foe disunited from his supporters. Always acting in this way, (*i. e.*, undertaking such expeditions only), a king obtains [the dominion of] the earth washed by the waters of the ocean (*i. e.*, rules over the whole length and breadth of the earth surrounded by the ocean).

36. The best season for the marching out of the elephants is, when the sky is overspread with masses of rain-clouds; seasons other than this, is suitable for the march of the horses; and the proper season (for military expedition), is that which is neither too hot nor too cold, nor rainy nor dry, and when the earth is covered with crops.

* These two Slokas are hopelessly elliptical—having no connection with those preceding or following them. The last portion must be supposed to be understood.

37. At night, the owl kills, the crow; and the crow kills the owl when night passes away. Therefore a king should set out on an expedition marking well the (advantages or disadvantages of the) seasons. It is in proper season that attempts are crowned with success.

38. A dog can overpower a crocodile when it is on land, and the crocodile can overpower the dog when it is in water. Therefore one (a king) exerting with the advantages of the place in his favour, enjoys the fruition ot his acts.

39. On horses on even tracts, and on elephants on watery (marshy) lands and countries abounding in trees and covered with rocks, and united with the army of his partisans and reviewing his own strength, a king should march out, for the conquest of countries.*

40. On desert tracts when the rain falls, in Summer through countries abounding in water, and mixed up with allied troops, a king should march, as it pleases him, for the conquest of countries.†

41. Following a route on which there is not too much water or which is not totally destitute of water, which abounds in corn and fire-woods, and where plenty of carpenters are to be found, a king should proceed towards the enemy by easy marches.

42. That portion only of the enemy's country should be marched into, where there would be no difficulty for the supply of food and for the support of the allies; which would abound in water, and whose watery expanses would be

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* The last portion is understood. This and the following sloka may be taken together; but then their construction will be still more clumsy.

† We confess we have not been able to make out any very good construction of this and the preceeding sloka—what we have embodied in the translation is a clumsy and forced one, but it is calculated to give the reader some idea of the author's meaning.

free from sharks &c., and crossed over by faithful followers, and whence the sick and wounded would not shrink back.

43. Those incorrigible fools who without much deliberation, rashly enter into the enemy's territory which is long way off, soon feel the touch of the edge of the enemy's sword.

44. Posting sentries on the route and in the camp, arranging duly for his safety, and with brave warriors lying by his side ready for action, a king should enjoy a balmy sleep undisturbed by dreams.

45. When from the enemy's camp the neigh of moving horses and the roar of elephants proceed, and when the sound of bells reaches his ears, he (the king) should then even in his sleep, call out saying—'what brave hero keeps watch there.'*

46. Then awaking, he should purify himself and offer adoration to the gods; cheerful and dressed in beautiful garments, he should then be duly paid homage to by the prime-ministers, priests, allies and friends.

47. Then deciding with their help as to what should be done, that possessor of beautiful conveyances, should march out riding on a (first-class) vehicle, and surrounded by foot-soldiers of noble extraction who are equal to himself (in prowess).

48. The king should himself look after the feeding of the horses and elephants and the repairing of the chariots, and the comforts of the detachments and the soldiers generally. He should see that the favorite horses and the leader elephants are supplied with *Bidhāna*.†

49. The king should be accessible to all and his speech

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* The text is vicious—the translation is free. The author means that even during sleep the king should be watchful so that at the slightest alarm he may be ready for self-defence.

† *Bidhāna* is the food given to horses and elephants in order to intoxicate them.

should invariably be preceded by smiles. He should speak sweet kind words, and pay (the soldiers) more than their wages. Won over by sweet words and liberal payment, the troops will gladly lay down their lives for their lord.

50. By constant practice, one becomes quite competent to ride upon chariots, horses, elephants and boats, and attains great mastery in bowmanship; constant practice bestows on the intelligent ability for performing even most difficult acts.

51. Riding on a huge elephant duly equipped and with followers and soldiers accoutred in mail, and with the ranks of the army teeming with brave heroes, a monarch should march forward, having at first held consultation with the ambassadors of the feudatory kings.

52. He should bring to light the latches of the foe through the agency of his highly intelligent and liberal-mind- spies. A ruler of earth abondoned by his spies, becomes like a man deprived of his sight.

53. The ally of the enemy should be own over by tempting offers or by the giving of some trifling thing; that portion of the enemy's party that may be bought off, should be bought off by the payment of a proper price.*

54. If the foe is not unwilling to enter into a treaty, a king should establish peace with him by deputing his ambassadors, and finish what he has undertaken as desirable, as soon as possible. On the other hand—(if the foe is unwilling to enter into a treaty), he should sow dissension among his partizans and thereby help his own advancement.

55. A king should wean over to his side by gifts, conciliation &c. the foresters, and frontier tribes and commanders of castles, whom he may come across on his route. In difficult and intricate tracts and when one is confined within them, these become the guides, and point the way out.

* We have not been able to make out any plausible meaning of this sloka. The text is hopelessly vicious; what is given above is only a

56. Of any person who for some reason or without it, has gone over to the enemy's side forsaking his former allegiance, the movements should be watched, when he comes near armed with weapons.

57. One possessed of the power of counsel and desiring his own advancement, should at first hold deliberate counsels (and then) undertake any act. Power of counsel is of greater importance than that of the arms (*i.e.* brute force). Indra conquered the Asuras through the power of his secret counsel.*

58. A wise monarch conversant with the principles of polity should in the proper season undertake an act, being guided by his keen and pure intelligence, and putting forward every effort for a successful termination. It is in proper season only that success can be achieved.

59. The divine majesty of the powerful and high-souled monarchs, who are possessed of knowledge and heroism, and who walk on the duly lighted path, is said to hang on their own arms resembling serpents in length.

60. When the earth would be adorned with plenty of corn and filled with prosperity and cheerful men, when there would be no rain and consequent muddiness of the soil, and when the woods would seem to blaze forth with the beauty of the blossoming mango trees,—in such a season putting forth his endeavours, a king should march out for conquering the enemy's territories.

61. Thus with his best efforts and his mind totally concentrated on the attack, a monarch should fall upon his foe. A foe whose possessions have been snatched away, gets back his territory if he serves the victor faithfully.

Thus ends the fifteenth section, the dissertation on military expedition, in the Nitisara of Kamandaki.

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* That is the power of counsel and of wisdom are greater means for subjugating the foe than the strength of the army.

SECTION XVI.

1. MARCHING into the vicinity of the enemy's town, a king acquainted with the ways of encamping, should pitch his camps on grounds recommended by the wise.

2. The camp should be quadrangular, with four entrances; it should not be either too spacious or too narrow, and should be surrounded on all sides with highways, bulworks and intrenchments.

3. The pavillions inside the camp should be made square* crescent-shaped, circular or long, according to the advantages and measure of the ground (on which they are erected).

4. Decorated with broad, disjointed and several tops, adorned with tents, having a secret chamber, and easy outlets on all sides,

5. Possessing a treasure-chamber inside, and capable of imparting a sense of cheerfulness and comfort, the king's pavillion should be erected there, and be protected by mighty and veteran troops.

6. Having received them with welcome, a king should place near his own pavillion, the old soldiers serving the royal line for generations, the rank and file, the troops of the allies and of the enemies weaned over, and classes of foresters, in successive order.

7. On the outskirts of the camp, numerous formidable hunters of wicked deeds who have been handsomely paid and won over, should be placed in circular array.

8. Elephants of celebrated names and horses fleet as the glances of the mind, both under the management of faith-

* *Sringátam* lit: means a crossing or where four roads cut one another. Hence the signification embodied above. It may also mean elevated.

ful dependants, should mount guard at the vicinity of the monarch's pavillion.

9. For his own safety a king should day and night remain armed with weapons and prepared for action, being ever on his guard, and with the environs of his pavillion cleared of soldiers.*

10. An elephant with huge tusks, trained in the modes of warfare, duly equipped and ridden by a brave guide, and a fleet steed, should ever be kept ready at the entrance of the king's pavillion.

11. With a portion of his own troops and with those of the allies, and placing the commander-in-chief in his front and accoutred in mail, a monarch should at night fall upon the enemy out-side his own encampment, [in order to take them by surprise].

12. Swift horsemen capable of running to distant boundaries and border-lands, and of great fleetness, should ascertain the movements of the enemy's troops.

13. Strict watch should be made to be kept by faithful troops at the entrances decorated with flags, flag-staffs, and porches adorned with garlands of flowers.

14. Every body should go out and come in keenly watched. The enemy's spies should dance attendance upon the king, ready to receive his commands.

15. Prevented from drinking, gambling and useless noise-making, the men should stand prepared for all acts, ready with all accessories and instruments.

16. Leaving grounds spacious enough for the drill and exercise of his own good swordsmen, a king should destroy all other lands outside his own intrenchments, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's troops.

17. The ground around the camp should be pervaded, at

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* This word may have another signification viz, guarded by self-controlled soldiers.

places with thorny branches of trees, at places with iron-pointed pegs (caltrops), and at places with secret holes and crevices.

18. Every day the drilling of the soldiers should be performed, with various appliances and on grounds cleared of trees, shrubs, stones, trunks, earthen mounds and water.

19. The place where desirable grounds for the drill of the king's own troops can be obtained and where all the disadvantages will be on the enemy's side—such a place is said to be the best (for encamping purposes).

20. Where grounds equally advantageous for the drill of one's own troops and those of the enemy can be found—that place is said by persons interpreting the *Shástras*, to be of middling merit.

21. Where there are spacious grounds for the drilling of the enemy's troops and where the reverse is the case with regard to a king's own troops,—that place is said to be the worst of all places.

22. Always wish to have the best encamping ground; in its absence, try to get a middling one; but never, for the sake of success, use the worst place, which is no better than a place of imprisonment.

23. A camp—which seems to be within the clutches of some body, where numerous diseases prevail, where suddenly hostilities spring up, and heavy frosts fall,

24. Which is blown over by unfavourable winds, where suddenly dusts begin to fall, where each tries to injure another and where the drums do not sound (well),

25. Where there are constant alarm and frght, where pealing thunders roar and where meteors fall, where the (king's) Parasol appears to be on fire and emits smoke and where yelping of jackals is heard from the left side,

26. Which is infested by flocks of crows, vultures and other such birds of ominous note, where great heat is suddenly felt and showers of blood fall,

27. Where the *Raj nakshatra** is seen to be surrounded on all sides, by other baneful portentous planets, and where headless trunks are seen in the sky, and where the vehicles and draught animals are suddenly stupified,

28. And where the ichor exuding from the temples of elephants in rut, suddenly dries up,—a camp where these and such other kinds of omens ill do prevail, is a very bad one (is not commended by the wise).

29. A camp—where the inmates, men and women, are all cheerful, where the drums and battle-drums sound aloud where horses neigh deeply and elephants duly equipped roar tremendously,

30. Which rings with music of the Vedic chaunts and the saying of *Punyaha*,† where melodious harmony of songs and dances rise up in many other ways, where there is no cause of alarm and great excitement prevail, and where the expected victory is indicated by good signs,

31. Where there is no dust-storm but excessive rain falls, where the *Grahas* are seen to be on the right side, and no unusually portentuous phenomena, either heavenly or earthly, are viewed,

32. Where favourable winds sing auspiciousness by their blowing, where the troops are well-fed and cheerful, and where incenses are burnt on blazing flames,

33. Where the elephants are mad without having drunk intoxicating liquors and where the *Ardras* are in highly prosperous state,—a camp where these auspicious signs prevail, is praised by the wise.

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* *Rajnakshatra*—may mean the moon; but we are not sure. The allusion is to the belief that when certain stars are seen in certain positions it portends evil and no act is to be undertaken while their influence lasts.

† *Punyahas* mean auspicious days—here it means the prayer for an auspicious day.—May this be an auspicious day, the Hindus rise from their beds with this prayer on their lips.

34. When good and auspicious signs are seen in the camp, the foe is sure to be routed, and when they are bad and inauspicious, reverses are to be suffered by the king. It is omens that indicate good or bad results

35. For these reasons, a monarch versed in the *Shastras* should mark all the omens. When the augeries are good and the king exerts with a pure heart, he leads to success the commendable works undertaken by him.

36. Victory is of him, who possesses allies, wealth, knowledge, prowess, favourable fortune, perseverance and manly efforts.

37. The king is called the *Skandha* inasmuchas he is said to be the root (of the prosperity)of the people. The functions of the ministers, the army and other members of a government are said to be *Abára.*

38. When for the advancement and prosperity of the people the *Skandha* or the king is supported or helped forward by the great *Abâras* or ministers, armies &c, it is said to be *Skandhábára.*

39. The destructions of the privillions, the clothing, the drinking water and the food grains, and of the supporting troops of the allies,—these are said to be the deaths of the *Skandhâbára* ;—these therefore should be carefully guarded against.

40. Thus the army should be carefully encamped and its good or bad state viewed ; this (good or bad condition) should also be carefully watched with regard to the enemy's army. When no evil omens would be seen, a king should begin (action).

Thus ends the sixteenth section, the desseration on encamping, in the Nitisára of Kamandaki.

SECTION XVII.

1. Possessed of a keen intelligence and armed with manliness and a favourable fortune, a monarch with proper endeavours and perseverance, should bring to bear against the enemy, the expedients for subjugating them.

2. A solvent treasury and a good counsel, &c. better than an army consisting of the four kinds of forces. Therefore a king of sound political knowledge—should conquer his enemies by the power of counsel and treasure.

3. Conciliation, gift (or bribery), display of military power, and domestic discord, these four, and deceit, neglect and conjuring—these, seven in all, are said to be the means of success against an enemy.

4. The enumeration of the good services done mutually, the extolling of the merits, the establishment of some relationship, display of majesty,

5. And to say in sweet and soothing words—"I am yours" &c.,—these are said to be the five kinds of conciliation, by those who know how to apply it (conciliation).

6. To give away acquired wealth in good, bad or middling manner, to give in return for what is obtained, to suffer to be taken what has been taken away,

7. To give away some wonderful thing, and the remission of what is due—these are said to be the five kinds of gift.

8. To cause affection and love to wither away, to generate rivalry, and to threaten, these are the three modes of sowing domestic discord.

9. To kill, to plunder wealth, and to inflict loss and distress, these are said to the three kinds of display of military power, by those who know how to use it (military power).

10. *Danda* (or infliction of punishment), is said to be of two kinds *viz*, open and secret. The enemies (of the state) and those who are disliked by the people should be openly dealt with.

11. Those who cause anxiety to the people, those who are the kings favorites, and those who stand very much in the way of the material prosperity of the state should be dealt with secretly (*i. e.* secret punishment should be inflicted on them).

12. By poisoning by the help of mystic ceremonies (*e. g. Márana* &c.) by assassination, (lit. by weapon) and by throwing down,*—by these methods, secret punishments should be so meted out that no body could come to know of them.

13. On Brāhmaṇs, or on any other caste, on pious people and on low and mean classes of men, an intellegent king, should not—for the advancement of his material (spiritual) welfare, inflict the capital punishment.

14. Those against whom secret punishment is recommended, may also be done away with by neglect. But a prudent person shou'd avoid to show this neglect out-wardly (or in a prominent manner so as to attract attention).

15. Thoroughly scanning, reviewing and studying their hearts and speaking sweet words and thereby appearing to be shedding nectar—a king should employ conciliation as an expedient against the foe.

16. Sweet and mellifluous speech is said to be conciliation itself. Euloguim, truth, sweet speech, these are synonymous with conciliation.

17. Appearing to view the undertaking of the enemy in the light of his own, a king should enter into his heart (lit. penetrate him) unperceived, like water penetrating into the mountain.

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* The other reading found in same books, means by the throwing of water &c.

18. The immortals and the Dānavas succeeded in churning the ocean of milk and obtained desirable results only through conciliation.* The sons of Dhritarāshtra who were against the policy of conciliation, were soon slain by the sons of Pāndu.†

19. An intelligent and wise king should pacify a threatening foe by means of gift or (bribery). When intent on subduing Indra, Sukra was pacified through gift.‡

20. When Bhrigu's son was enraged in consequence of the fault of Sarmishtha (Vrishaparva's daughter), Vrishaparvan the lord of the Dānavas made himself happy by giving her over (to Sukra so that she may serve this one's daughter).§

21. One desirous of peace should, even approaching the powerful king uninvited, give away things to him for pleasing

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* An eternal hostility exists between the gods and the *Dānavas* (the demons) who always fight with each other. But when it was decided to churn the ocean of milk, they were reconciled, but for which no churning could have been accomplished. It is by the policy of conciliation that the gods won the *Dānavas* over and persuaded them to help in the matter.

† The sons of Pandu were ever for peace and conciliation. But the sons of Dhritarāshtra stubbornly refused all overtures—so much so, that they declined to give even five villages only to the five Pandava brothers. They were completely ruined and slain in the battle that followed—the great battle of Kurukshetra.

‡ The allusion is obscure. Sukra was the preceptor of the Demons and consequently the enemy of Indra.

§ Sukra's daughter Devayani and Vrishaparvan's daughter Sarmishtha were fast friends. Once upon a time Devayani and Sarmishtha went to bathe keeping their clothes on the shore. But the god Wind changed their clothes—and when they were dressed they began to quarrel about the change—until Sarmishtha in her temper [illegible] slapped her companion on the cheek and threw her into a well. There she remained until she was seen and rescued by Yayati who married her with the consent of father; and Sarmishtha was ordered to be her servant as a recompense for the insulting conduct she offered to Devayani.

him; the sons of Gāndhari* refusing to give (to the Pandavas a portion of the kingdom) met with their complete destruction.

22. Alluring by mighty hopes, but fulfilling little of them, a king should wean over the four kinds of alienable parties, knowing them through spies.†

23. The greedy who have been deprived of their dues, the honorable persons who have been dishonoured, the irritable persons who have been angered, and those who have been extremely abused,

24. These are the four kinds of alienable parties, who should be won over, each by the fulfilment of his particular desire. But to establish peace in his own party as well as in the party of the foe—is a better policy.

25. With all efforts and carefulness a king should effect the alienation of the ministers, counsellors, and priests; and when these have been alienated, the highly powerful princes should be tried.

26. The prime-minister and the crown prince are said to be the two arms of a lord of earth; the former is also said to be the king's eye,—and the alienation of this one cannot be compared to the alienation of any body else.

27. An intelligent king should with all endeavours try to vitiate (alienate) one of his rival monarch's own family; such a one when vitiated destroys his own dynasty like fire destroying the fuel which produces it.

28. One highly disaffected at heart is equal to one of the rival monarch's own dynasty, (so far as the facility of alienation is concerned). Therefore a king should wean

* Gandhari was the wife of Dhritarastra and the mother Duryodhana and his brothers. They refused to give to the Pandavas even five villages only—see Supra.

† *Ubhaya-betana* means one receiving wages from both masters—hence treacherous spies.

him over in any way and maintain peace and conciliation among his own ranks.

29. Secret overtures should be made only to one who is capable, of doing good or bad.* But with keen and scrutinising intelligence it should be at first ascertained whether he is a straight-forward or a hypocrite person.

30. A straight-forward person should try to fulfil his words to the best of his power. But a hypocrite, in consequence of his longing for wealth, would betray both parties.

31. *Quandom* commanders, mean-minded persons, those who serve the king *only* to pass the time any how or other,† those who have been punished without cause or reason, those who long for (personal) prosperity, those who are invited and then neglected (*or dishonored*),

32. One of the king's own family (*dynasty*) who is jealous of (hostile to) him, he that is found fault with by the monarch, those who have given up their business (offices), and those on whom heavy taxes have been levied,

33. Those who love to fight, those who are rashly bold, those who are self-conceited, those who are severed from virtue, wealth and *desire*,‡ those who are of a excitable nature, the honorable persons who have been dishonored,

34. Those who are cowards, those who live in constant fear (of being punished) for their offences, those who have created enemies through want of kind treatment,§ those who love the company of those inferior to them, and who drive away their equals,

* The original word is : translated would mean—one who is capable of showing wrath or mercy ; hence "having much influence."

† These people do not feel for the king, and may be won over by the offer of petty advantages. The word may mean also those who are procrastinating.

‡ That is, whose existence have been blasted and who have no love for life.

§ The text is vigraha, the translator's here.

35. Those who are imprisoned without cause and who have been specially favoured for some reason or other, those who have been apprehended without reason, those worthy and worshipful persons who are disregarded,

36. Those whose family and possessions have been plundered (*i.e.* confiscated), those who are inflamed by a strong desire for enjoyment, those who have been ruined,* those who are friends outwardly, those whose goods and chattels have been taken off,† and those who have been driven out,

37. These are said to be the alienable parties. When any of these is found with the foe, he should be weaned over. Those who come over to the king's side (*i.e.* are won over) should be honored by (the present of) those things they may desire to have; in this way also, a king should maintain unity and concord among his own partizans.‡

38. To find out what is coveted by both (the king and the alienable party), and to see what both fear and are apprehensive of, and chiefly, bribing (giving presents) and honoring—these are said to be the means for effecting alienation.

39. Assailed by a powerful enemy, an intelligent king, should try to effect alienation among the former's party. The powerful Sanda and Amarka,§ alienated from each other, were vanquished by the gods.

40. Causing disunion in the united army of the foe, a king should annihilate it by open attack. Disunited, it is

* It may mean bankerupts.

† *Bahirbandhu* and *Bahirdravya* may mean—those who have got friends outside, and one whose property lies outside the dominions of the particular king, respectively.

‡ The translation is free in the latter portion.

§ The allusion is obscure; probably they were two demon brothers, the gods finding them united, applied the policy of alienation against them, and afterwards slew them.

destroyed like a piece of wood which is set fire to with dried grass.

41. Supported by faithful allies and favoured by the advantages of the soil and the season, and inflamed with energy, a king should drive his enemy to destruction by open attack, even like king Yudhishthira himself.

42. Reckoning the measure of his own strength, a monarch should regulate his attacks (lit. lead his army to battle). In the days of yore, Rama* possessed of strength and energy, slew the *Kshatriyas* single handed.

43. Those who are idle, those who have lost all power, those who have exhausted their efforts in an undertaking, those who are suffering from excessive destruction and loss, those who are routed,

44. And cowards, fools, women, boys, pious men, and wicked and brute-like persons, as also those of a friendly nature and of a peaceful turn of mind—these should be won over by conciliatory measures.

45. The greedy and the poor should be brought under subjugation by being honoured with gifts, so also those wicked ones who are dissatisfied being afraid of one another and through fear of the punishments inflicted on them.

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* The allusion is to the story of Parasurama son of Jamadagni. This Brahman is said to have been the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. While young he cut off with his axe the head of his mother Renuka at the command of his father, when none of his brothers was willing to do so. Some time after this, king Kartaviryya went to the hermitage of his father and carried off his cow. But Parasurama when he returned home fought with the king and killed him. The sons of the Kartaviryya hearing of the fate of their father, came to Parasurama's hermitage and shot his father dead in his absence. Thereupon Parasurama made the dreadful vow of exterminating the whole Kshatriya race. He succeeded in ridding the earth twenty one times of the warrior race. He is said to have penetrated through the Krauncha mountains. He is one of those who will never die—and is believed at present to be engaged in austerities on the Mahendra mountain.

46. Sons, brothers, and friends, should be won over by persuasive words (or wealth), for, who can be equal to them, although they may be made distant by the enemy?

47. If per chance these (sons, &c.,) fall off from their allegiance, conciliation should be employed against them. Indeed, sometimes they are incorrigibly vitiated through pride and boastfulness.

48. They in whom nobility of birth, good conduct, charity, kindness, piety, truthfulness, gratefulness and harmlessness are to be found, are said to be *Acharyyas.*

49. A king conversant with the policy of gift and alienation and knowing the ways of inflicting punishment, should win over the citizens and the people and the leaders of the army by gift and alienation.

50. Offended friends should be reconciled by honouring and gifts and kind words; others should be won over by the proper employment of the policy of alienation or bribery or gift.

51—52. Men hidden inside the images of gods, pillars, and holes, men dressed in the clothes of women, and assuming terrible appearances at night and appearing in the semblance of *Pisáchas* (demons), and gods,—in this way do persons practise the policy of deceit and this is known as *Máyá.*

53. To assume different appearances at will, to shower down weapons, iron balls and water, and to be hidden in darkness, these also are the artifices practised by men.

54. Bhima killed Kichaka by being disguised as a woman.*

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* While Droupadi in the guise of Sairindri was residing at the court of king Viráta, his brother-in-law Kichaka saw her and her beauty excited wicked passions in his heart. He became enamoured of her and through his royal sister, tried to violate her modesty. Droupadi complained of his unmannerly conduct to the king, but he declinedto in ferc; she then sought her husband Bhima's assistauce, who told her to show herself favourable to Kichaka's advances. An appointment was then

The god of fire also remained hidden for a long time by practising divine *Māyā*.*

55. Not to prevent one from wrong, from war and from danger—these are said to be the three kinds of *Upekshā* or diplomatic neglect, by those who are conversant with its nature and use.

56. Intent on the performance of an misdeed and blinded by lust, Kichaka was neglected by Virāta and allowed to be slain (by Bhima).

57. Afraid of the nonfulfilment of her own desire, Hidimva, although seeing Bhimasena ready for the combat, allowed her own brother to be slain and thus neglected him.†

58. The exhibition of clouds, darkness, rain, fire, mountain and other strange shapes, and of troops which are at a distance marching with flowing banners,

59. And the exhibition of cut off, severed and slaughtered troops, and of highly efficient armies—all these kinds of conjuring should be resorted to for inspiring terror into the enemy's host.

60. These are said to be the expedients that serve various purposes of the monarchs; of these, a king conversant with the nature of conciliation, should employ it whenever it pleases him.

61. At first the policy of gift (or bribery) should be employed and then conciliation and alienation. But these latter two when united with the former, are sure to bring about success.

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made between Kichaka and Draupadi that they should meet in the dancing hall of the palace at night; pursuant to this appointment Bhima disguised as Draupadi went there and when Kichaka tried to embrace him taking him for Draupadi—he was crushed to death.

* This allusion is obscure.

† Hidimva was a demoness; she became enamoured of Bhima and to satisfy her lust she induced Bhima to slay her brother Hidimva. The story is contained in the Mahabharata.

62. The policy of conciliation without the support of the policy of gift seldom brings success in an undertaking. Conciliation without the help of gift cannot produce the desired effect even when it is employed against one's own wife.

63. These expedients, a king conversant with the science of polity, should skilfully bring to bear against the enemy's troops or in his own forces. A king exerting without employing these expedients, proceeds towards his end like a blind man.

64. Prosperity is sure to come into the possession of those wise persons (kings) who employ these expedients; nay it swells (every day). When properly managed with the help of these expedient efforts of kings bear fruit.

Thus ends the seventeenth section, the use and employment of the expedients, in the Nitisara of Kamandaki.

SECTION XVIII.

1. THE three policies of conciliation, gift and alienation having failed, a king conversant with the principles of polity and the ways of punishing, should lead his army against those who deserve punishment.

2. Having worshipped the gods and the twice-born Brahmanas and with the planets and the stars shining propitious, a king should march towards the foe, with his six kinds of troops arrayed in due order.

3. The *Maula* the mercenary, the *Sreni* the allied, those belonging to the enemy weaned over and the forest tribes, these are the six kinds of forces; each preceding is of greater importance than each following; so also in their *Vyasana*.

4. For their respect and love for the king, for the fact of their helping in the removal of the dangers that may happen to him and for their being inspired with the same thoughts and sentiment, the *Maula* troops are more reliable than the mercenary.

5. The mercenary troops again are more reliable than the *Sreni* troops, for the former depend on the king for their livelihood.

6. The *Sreni* troops are again more reliable than the troops of the allies, for these latter do not enjoy a share of the king's victory, whereas the former participate in his joy and grief, and moreover live in the same country with the king.

7. The allied troops again are more reliable than the troops of the enemy weaned over, inasmuch as the former persue the same object with the king, and their country and time of action are known, whereas the latter often differ in opinion.

8. The low forest tribes, are by nature faithless, greedy, and sinful; for this reason, the weaned over troops of the enemy are better than they, who are wild and undisciplined.

9. Both the forest tribes and the weaned over troops of the enemy, follow the king waiting for the moment when to accomplish his ruin; so, when all chances of their causing any difficulty will be over,—victory is sure to embrace the king.

10. A king has great cause of apprehension from these two (the forest-tribes and the weaned over troops of the enemy), for secret overtures may be directed towards them

by the foe. From his own side also, a king should commence intriguing, for intrigue is ever sure to give victory.*

11. An enemy highly powerful in consequence of his being possessed of *Moula* troops swelling with energy and faithful in allegiance, should be encountered with the same kind of troops capable of enduring loss and destruction.†

12. When the march would be long, or the campaign will be a protracted one, a king should proceed with the *Moulas* duly protected. The *Moulas* being of long standing are capable of bearing up against loss and destruction.

13. In these matters (*i.e.* in protracted marches and campaigns and the like) an intelligent king should not depend much upon (lit: leave off), the mercenary and other kinds of troops; for when they are worn out with the toils of the protracted march or campaign, their alienation (by the foe) may be apprehended.

14. When the troops of the enemy are numerous, when the fatigue and toil are excessive and protracted, and when the army is always sent abroad and put to difficult tasks—its alienation (by the enemy) follows as a matter of course.

15. A king is virtually powerless when his mercenary troops are numerous, and *Moula* troops are small in number. So also, an enemy is powerless, when his *Moula* troops are small in number or are disaffected.‡

16. Battles should be fought more often with the help of the power of counsel—for then victory is obtained with little difficulty. When again the soil and the season are unfavorable, the destruction and loss become immense.

17. When the enemy's troops give up their efforts in the direction of alienation and become trustworthy, the merce-

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* The Sloka as given in the text is unintelligble. It is after comparing several readings, that we could make out the meaning embodied above.

† What the another means is this that when the enemy leads out *Moula* troops the king should meet with his own *Moula* troops.

‡ The transl: ˙on is free.

nary troops defy them saying :—"They are of base metals and should be slain."

18. Three kinds of troops (*viz.*, the forest-tribes, the troops of the enemy weaned over and the *Sreni*) may be induced to excessive drinking and thus rendered incapable of service. With his own troops who have been duly drilled and who have not stayed in foreign lands for a long time (for then they would have been worn out), a king should fall upon the foe.

19. A king whose resources for battle are small may by his power of counsel make the allied troops like his own ; and thus his strength may be increased.

20. Acts in which the king and the allied monarch are both equally interested, acts whose success depends on the ally, and acts in which clemency and cleverness are to be displayed, such acts should be undertaken in conjunction with the ally.

21. Supported by a large host of the enemy's troops weaned over, a king should march against a powerful enemy. Then like a dog waiting to kill a beast, he should bring into action conciliation or other kinds of policy.

22. The troops of the enemy that have been weaned over should be employed in, and entrusted with the task of rooting out the thorns of the difficult paths ; for otherwise there is danger of their being mortally irritated.

23. The foresters also should be employed in similar tasks ; and when entering into the territory of another, a learned king should always place them in the front.

24. These are the six kinds of troops and these constitute a complete army together with the cavalry, infantry, car-warriors and elephants. Such an army supported by the power of counsel and a solvent treasury constitutes a *Sadanga vala* or an army of six members.

25. A powerful monarch arranging the six kinds of

troops without the least defect, should proceed to encounter an army stronger than his own.

26. By his power of counsel, &c., a king should know its (his army's) connections and he should also apprise himself of what his generals do or do not.

27. One of high extraction, belonging to the king's own country (*i. e.*, the king's own subject), conversant with the rules of counsel and acting in conformity with them, a careful student of the science of *Dandaniti* and its administrator,

28. One possessed of the qualities of energy, heroism, forgiveness, patience, amiableness and richness, one endowed with power and manliness and who is depended upon by his followers for their support (*i. e.*, one who has got followers and dependants),

29. One who has got numerous friends and whose relations and cognates are many, whose countenance reflects genersosity, and who is large-hearted and a thoroughly practical man mixing freely with the people,

30. Who never cultivates other's ill-will or enmity without any reason, whose number of foes is very limited and who is of pure character, and is a profound scholar of the *Shastras*, and acts according their precepts,

31. One who is healthy, stout, brave, forbearing and acquainted with the opportuneness of season, and is possessed of a noble appearance, and has full reliance on his own power,

32. One, who knows how to tend horses and elephants, and repair chariots, and is indifatigable, and skilful in fighting and duelling with swords, and can move with agility,

33. Who knows the divisions of the field of battle, and whose power remains unperceived till the time of action like that of the lion, and who is not procrastinating and is watchful humble and self-controlled,

34. Who knows the marks (good or bad) of horses, elephants, chariots, and weapons and is fully acquainted with the

stations and movements of the spies and scouts, and is grateful and conversant with all alternations (of acts),

35. One who observes all pious ceremonies and is skilful and followed by skilful dependants, who is expert in all modes of warfare and is competent to manage the army,

36. One who having been naturally gifted with the power of reading others' heart, can perceive what the men, horses and elephants want, who also knows their designation and can supply them their food,

37. One who knows all countries, languages and human characters, and can decipher all writings and is possessed of a retentive memory; one who is thoroughly competent to lead nocturnal attacks and who can ascertain by his keen intelligence what should be done,

38. One who knows the times of sunset and sunrise, and the position of the stars and planets and their consequent influences, and who is fully acquainted with the routes, the directions, and the countries (through which the army is to pass,)

39. One who is neither frightened nor fatigued by the pangs of hunger and thirst and the inclemencies of the weather, hot, cold, and rainy, who can bear up against alarms and weariness and who gives assurances of safety to the good,

40. One who can create breaches in the army of the foe, and who can undertake difficult acts, and can detect and remove the cause of alarm of his own troops,

41. One who can protect the camp, and is capable of bringing into light any (underhand) act of the troops, one who fully knows the disguises and the pretences put forward by the spies and messengers, and who reaps success by his great exertion,

42. One who always accomplishes successfully acts undertaken by him, and enjoys their fruition, and who is disregardful of near or remote consequences, but is only anxious about the material prosperity of the kingdom,—

43. One possessed of these characteristics should be made the leader of an army. The army should always, day, night, be carefully protected (from evil influence).

44. Wherever in rivers, mountains, forests and difficult regions there will be any chance of danger, the general should proceed there with his army arranged in due order.

45. The guides supported by a detachment of heroic troops should march in the van; the king and his camp, and the treasury solvent or insolvent, should be in the middle.

46. The horses should march in both the flanks and they should be flanked by the chariot warriors; these last again should be flanked by elephants whom the forest tribes should flank.

47. The accomplished general thus having placed every body in the front should march slowly in the rear, arranging the host of troops, and breathing comfort to the wounded and the weak.

48. When there should be danger in the van, the troops should be disposed of in the Makara (crocodile-shaped), or in the two-winged *Syena* or (hawk-shaped), or in the *Suchi* (needle-shaped) array and then marched forward.

49. When there would be danger in the rear, the *Sakata* (or chariot-shaped) array should be formed; when the danger would be in the flanks, the array called *Vajra* should be formed; and in all situation the array known as *Sarvato-bhadra* that frighten the enemy, should be formed.

50 When the troops are fatigued in consequnce of protracted marches through long routes and over hills dales forests and narrow woody defiles and through rivers and river-beds, when they are afflicted with hunger, thirst, and cold,

51. When they are harassed with raids of robbers and distressed with diseases, want of food and pestilence and oppression, whOn on the rou'e of march they get muddy

unclean water for drink, and when they become separated or huddled together,

52. When they fall deeply asleep and become busy in preparing their meal, when they are not in the proper ground and are not prepared for attack; when they are afflicted with the fear of thieves and fire, and when they are overtaken by rain and storm,

53. When all these calamities overtake his army, a king should protect it; but when the hostile troops are overtaken by them, he should fall upon them and annihilate them.

54. Having effected an alienation between the foe and his *Prakritis* and with the advantages of the season and the soil in his favour, a king should fight a pitched battle; otherwise he should fight in underhand ways.

55. In unfair warfare, the foe when busy in pitching tents on unfavourable grounds, should be slain by the king who is on favorable grounds; when a king is on his own grounds he is said to be on favourable grounds.

56. A king who is cheerless in consequence of his *Prakritis* being separated from him should be slain through secret agents, foresters, and brave soldiers, who should employ against him gift or bribery or alienation.

57. Displaying himself in the front and thence having ascertained the mark, a king should slay his enemies from behind, falling upon him with agile and heroic troops.

58. He may also placing the greater part of the army in the enemy's back (where consequently his attention will be drawn), slay this latter from the front, falling upon him with the best part of his troops. In this way the flanks also may be assailed in unfair warfare.

59. If the ground in the front be invulnerable, a swift-moving king should (change position and) slay the foe from behind. A king should slay his foe going over to his side who foolishly believes that he has conquered him.

60. Alluring the troops of the enemy out of their camps,

villages and castles into pastures, a cool-headed king should slay them.

61. Concealing the inefficient portion of the army, and with the rest of it supported by the allies, a king should crush the foe falling upon him even like a lion.

62. Remaining hidden, a king should slay his foes when he is engaged in hunting; or he may slay him enticing him away by the hope of plunder and then blockading his route of return.

63. The troops that could not sleep through fear of being attacked in the night and that have been worn out through the toils of night-keeping should be assaulted and annihilated on the day following.

64. A king knowing the rules of nocturnal attack, should lead out a night-attack with the fourth part of his army, against the foe unsuspectingly locked in the arms of sleep.

65. With agile swordsmen inflamed with wrath, a king should slay the foe whose eyes are blinded in consequence of the sun's rays falling on them or the wind blowing against them.

66. In this way, a king possessed of agility should slay his foes.

67. Mist, darkness, herds of kine, pits, hillocks, underwoods, and river-beds—these indicate the foe, for they are the seven kinds of hiding places.

68. A persevering sovereign exerting in the right manner, should slay his foes by the different kinds of warfare, knowing their movements through the agency of his spies.

69. Thus always a king should slay his foes by unfair-war. The slaughter of foes by deceitful measures is not detrimental to one's righteousness. The son of Drona with his sharp weapon slew the troops of the Pandavas when

they were unsuspectingly locked in the arms of sleep at night.*

Thus end the eighteenth section, the modes of warfare, the movements of the generals, surprises &c., in the Nitisara of Kamandaki.

SECTION XIX.

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1. To go in front in all marches, to first enter into forests and difficult tracts, to create roads and passages where there are none,

2. To descend into and swim over watery expanses, to conquer the body-guards (constituting a part of the enemy's army), to break through united ranks, and to gather to their own side the routed troops,

3 To ward off sources of danger, to break down walls and gates, to protect the treasury and the uniform adherence to the policy from all dangers, these are the functions of the elephants.

4. To investigate the woods, the different directions, and the routes, to protect the supplies of food and the supporting troops, to effect with promptitude the acts of pursuit and retreat,

5. To approach and help the *distressed* portion of the

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* The son of Drona promised to Duryodhana to slay the sons of Pandu. One night he went to their camp and instead of slaying the Pandava brothers slew the five sons of Draupadi and brought their heads to Duryodhana. This upset Duryodhana and he died soon after.

army, the *Kotee* and the *Jaghana*,* these are the functions of the horse. Of infantry the functions are always to be armed with weapons,

6. To purify† the pits and the passages, the roads and the tents, and to know the stock of fodder and food and everything like Viswakarma‡ himself.

7. High lineage, youthful age, the tact of knowing other creature's heart, prowess, skilfulness, promptitude resoluteness and the inclination for the performance of good acts,

8. These are the qualifications of infantry, cavalry car-warriors and horses, who posses good marks and follow all rules of conduct; the possessor of all these qualifications only should be employed in action.

9. A ground free from stakes and thorms and of which the trees and copses have been cut down and the mounds levelled and which possesses outlets of retreat such a ground is thought advantageous for the movements of the infantry.

10 Grounds with small number of trees and stone, having no pits, creepers and caves and which is steady, and free from gravel or mud and possess outlets for retreat, such gronuds are said to be cavalry-grounds.

11. Devoid of sandy soils, mud, earthen mound gravels and stones, and free from marshes, creepers, pits, trees, copses, and such like things,

12. Where there are no gardens and chasms, which are capable of bearing the tread of hoofs, and are steady and can bear the wheels, such grounds are said to be chariot-grounds (*i. e*, where chariots may be driven with safety).

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* *Kotee* and *Jaghana* are certain parts of the *Vyuha* or array. *Jaghana* has a special meaning viz., the rear guard or the reserved portion of the army.

† The word 'purify' is here used in a metaphorical way, it means "to clear of the foe."

‡ Viswakarma is the divine architect; probably he is also gifted with a keen observation.

13. The grounds for the chariots, the horses and the elephants should be steady and hard. The wise should not consider that the grounds for the horses are not for elephants.

14. Grounds where are there trees to be trampled (*i. e.*, delicate trees which the elephants may cut off) and creepers to be rooted out, which is free from mire, and is fertile and rough, where there are accessible hillocks, such are grounds for the elephants.

15. An intelligent monarch desirous of victory should never hazard a fight without good cause (or his rear well-protected). In case of sheer necessity he may fight being surrounded by numerous troops.

16. Placed on elephants and guarded by fighter troops, the treasures should be carried where the king goes; for royalty depends on treasures.

17. After the completion of a difficult work, praised and held in respect, a king should (liberally) remunerate the warriors; *for* who does not fight for a liberal-handed king?

18. A king should cheerfully give ten millions of Suvarnas to the slayer of his royal antagonist; half the amount should be given when the latter's son or his general is slain.

19. When a chief of a brave detachment of heroes is slain, ten thousand *Suvarnas* should be given.

20. When an elephant or a car is destroyed, half of this amount should be given; and a thousand *Suvarnas* should be given, when an archer or a foremost foot soldier is slain.

21. A score of cows or any other object of enjoyment or gold or any other base metal—these belong to those who conquer them.

22. The king should cheerfully remunerate the soldiers according to the things they bring; then he should place the powerful in battle array.

23. The number of horses should be three times the number of cars and elephants, and five and five should be

employed together. Foot-soldiers should be employed with them at the interval of one and horses at the interval of three.

24. Elephants and cars should be placed at the interval of five. This kind of division is commended by all masters of polity.

25. The horses, men and car-warriors and elephants should fight in such a way that their efforts in case of retreat may be unobstructed.

26. When dangerous irregular fight ensues it should be fought with mixed troops. In fierce wars, the mighty and noble dynasties should be sought shelter with.

27. Three men should always be made antagonists and an elephant should alway be opposed by five horses.

28. Fifteen men and four horses, these are said to be capable of withstanding an elephant or a chariot.

29. The weakness of a force is said to be *Panchachápa* by those who are conversant with the forming of arrays and are accomplished in the art of war-fare.

30. The *Uras*, the two *Kakshas*, the two wings, the centre, the back, the rear and the *Kotee*—these are the seven limbs of the *Vyuha* or array mentioned by those conversant with their nature.

31. According to our preceptor the *Vyuha* has the *Uras*, the *Kaksha* and the wings and the rear parts only; according to Sukra it is devoid of the *Kakshas*.

32. Unalienable, nobly-born, pure-hearted, accomplished in smiting, sure of aim, and competent to fight with resoluteness, such men should be made leaders of divisions.

33. Surrounded by these heroic and brave persons a king should stay on the field and should fight unseperably and protecting one another.

34. The flower of the troops should be placed in the centre of the array and the fighting materials should be placed in the *Jaghana*.

35. The fiercest of the forces accomplished in war should be employed in the fight. A good general is said to be the soul of the battle, and it is lost if there is no general.

36. The *Vyuha* that infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants constitute, one at the back of another, is said to be *Achala*; that formed by elephants, horses, cavalry, and infantry is in-capable of being withstood.

37. The cavalry in the centre, the chariots in the two *kakshas*, the elephants in the flanks,—such an array is said to be *Antavid*.

38. In place of chariots horses may be posted and in place of horses foot-soldiers may be posted; and in the absence of chariots, an intelligent king should arrange the elephants.

39. The foot-soldiers, the horse, the chariots and the elephants should be thrown in the middle in divisions. The elephants surrounded by the infantry, cavalry, and cars should be placed in the centre.

(Slokas 40—57 contain descriptions and names of the several kinds of array and the ways of using them),

58. Where the enemy's troops are weak, unpaid, led by vicious persons, there it should be assailed—and thus a king's own strength should be added to.

59. The enemy should be pressed by doubly strong forces,—and he should be opposed when united together, by furious detachments of elephants.

60. Unconquerable elephants (of the enemy) should be slain by elephants besmeared with the fat of lions or by groups of elephants ridden by brave guides.

61. The troops of the enemy should be slain by divisions of elephants duly equipped, furious, caparisoned with iron net-works, ridden by brave warriors, and irresistible in consequence of being in rut.

62. A leader elephant in rut and possessed of courage, can slay detachments of the enemy's troops. The victory of

the rulers of earth depends on the number of the elephants. Therefore the armies of the kings should teem with elephants.

Thus ends the ninteenth Section—the arraying of troops, the functions of elephants, horses &c, in the Nitisara of Kamandaki.

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